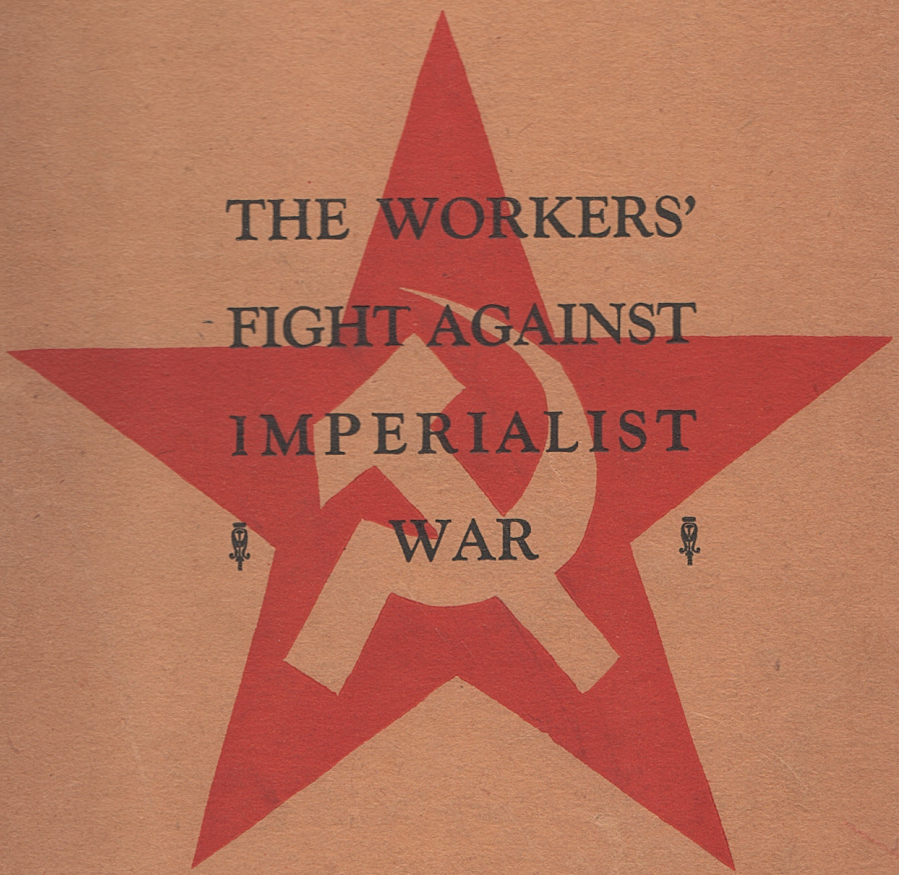
INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

(AUGUST 1st, 1929)



THE WORKERS' FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

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INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

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INTERNATIONAL RED DAY

May 1st — August 1st

MASS May Day strikes in Paris, Paris transformed into an armed camp, mass arrests in France, a number of demonstrations involving conflict with the police in the provinces, bloody conflicts in Poland, machine-guns and armoured cars firing at the crowds of textile workers in Bombay, a two hundred thousand demonstration despite the threats of the social-democratic police chief Zörgiebel in Berlin, a four day frenzy of the police bands, barricades in Neukölln and Wedding—such is the picture of the May Days in the "stabilised" capitalist countries. In the chain of events witnessing to the growth of the revolutionary wave, May Day, 1929, is not an isolated episode. Everywhere there is an increased activity among the international working class, an increase of economic strikes, a wave of indignation at the Berlin shootings flooding over all Europe; there is another rise in the reservists' movement in France, in certain places the soldiers fraternise with the strikers; the C.P.s' influence is growing, and a summary proof of that is to be found in the last factory committee elections in Germany.

THE "reconstruction" period of post-war capitalism is intensifying the relationships between classes, is piling up so much combustible material that any sectional conflict between labour and capital threatens to become a starting point for class battles on an enormous scale. During the last few years the bourgeoisie has grown bolder. Capitalist rationalisation has entailed further pressure on the working class. The modern capitalist State has been transformed into the servant of huge trusts and combines and is assuming a Fascist form. The social-democrats, with all their machinery, have been fused with the capitalist State and the employers' organisations. In every conflict the working class finds itself opposed by the State, the Trusts and the reformist bureaucracy. In these conditions the bourgeoisie considered that it could make one further step, that it could carry into effect its attempt even on May Day. To shatter the working class, to enfeeble it sufficiently to leave the bourgeoisie free to prepare for new wars and for the war on the U.S.S.R. first and foremost—that was the intention underlying the military preparations made by international capital for the struggle against the May Day demonstrations. By its attack on May Day the bourgeoisie itself helped to make the struggle of the international working class a political struggle. In one of the most developed capitalist States, where all the processes of the "reconstruction" period of capitalism have found their clearest reflection; in the country where social-democracy is strongest; under the social-democratic Reichs Chancellor Muller; that attack on the May Day demonstration acquired its most cynical and aggressive forms. That party which in the past has hypocritically played with talk of the

international solidarity of the workers and the holiday of organised labour, in the year marking the fortieth anniversary of the Second International shot down with machine-guns and armoured cars the workers who had turned out on the streets on May Day. To that party fell the role of hounds set upon the working class at the bidding of their master. And if this attempt of the German bourgeoisie, through its servants, had been successful, it would have served as the signal for depriving the entire international proletariat of its May Day. Such a "victory" to the bourgeoisie would have played the same role as the victory won by the Baldwin Conservative Government over the devoted Citrines and Purcells during the British general strike, a victory serving as the signal for a general attack by the capitalists on the conditions of existence of the international proletariat.

The international significance of the Berlin events consists in the fact that the Berlin May Day has become the historical point which indicates the relationship of class forces in the international sphere during the coming months. The fact that the German proletariat summarily carried out its May Day demonstration is a great victory not only for the German proletariat but for the international working class. For four days the Zörgiebel robbers raked the streets with fire, in spite of which the bourgeoisie did not emerge victorious from the May Day conflict. They did not break the German working class, they did not achieve a victory over that class. The damage done to social-democracy is enormous, irremediable. In the coming months the German working class will show how much their monstrous attempt to strangle Red Berlin with the aid of the police machinery of the bourgeois State has cost social-democracy. And the defeat of social democracy cannot but be a defeat of the bourgeoisie.

THE Berlin events have shown that the "third period" is by no means a consolidation of capitalist stablisation, as the right-wingers and conciliators declare, but something entirely opposite. Our emphasis on the great development of the internal and external antagonisms in capitalism, on the intensification of the class struggle, on the growth of offensive tendencies in the workers' movement, on the extension of the influence of the Communist parties has proved to be absolutely sound. After the events in Berlin it is quite clear that a number of our largest parties, and the German C.P. chiefly, are faced with the question of winning a majority of the working class, i.e., of winning its basic and decisive strata. For our larger parties (the German, Czech, French and even the illegal Polish party) the question of winning a majority of the working class is henceforth by no means an abstract problem, but a task of current policy. Not one party has yet accomplished that task, but it must now become the central focus of the work of the Comintern sections. This is the new element in the situation of the leading sections which we must take into account. Social-democracy is doomed. It may still be able to manœuvre for a certain time, may be able to cling to all the institutions of the bourgeois State, the employers' organisations, "capitalist stablisation," but history has already pronounced its doom. In order to avoid becoming quite useless to the bourgeoisie, and thus being thrown on the rubbish-heap, it is becoming Fascist in proportion to its loss of influence. It will grow even more bestial, fully realising that it will be the first corpse across which the international working class will stride during the initial stages of the decisive struggles against capital.

The "third period" will be characterised not only by a statistical increase in the various spheres of capitalist economy, with its corollary of an almost mystic adoration of the might of capitalism on the part of all the Hilferdings of Communism, but first and foremost by the fact that during this period we have definitely to deal with the task of winning the decisive strata of the working class. The role of the subjective factor in the revolution will grow to a much greater extent than during the revolutionary years of 1917-19. That growth of the subjective factor, i.e., the leftward trend of the working class and the increase in the influence of the C.P.s will more and more become the instrument of the destruction of capitalist stabilisation. We must realise quite clearly, that, even before the new imperialist war which by its disturbance of the entire capitalist system will create a directly revolutionary situation in all countries; or even before

such an economic crisis as will play a similar role to war ;—owing to the growth in the influence of the C.P.s, owing to their capture of the broad masses of the working class, owing to the leftward trend of these masses, we may have gigantic battles between labour and capital in a number of countries. These battles may temporarily end in defeat, as happened in Britain during the general strike, at times they may end in stalemate, at times in sectional victories for the proletariat ; but for the working class they will be the sole means not only of maintaining their positions but of strengthening and extending them. Without speaking of sectional victories for the proletariat ; even stalemates, and even the defeats of the working class, will, during this historic period dividing us from "the last and final struggle" become a factor for the demonstration of the strength and maturity of the proletariat, and may become a factor preventing the bourgeoisie from establishing an unprecedented degree of exploitation and political reaction

THESE battles on the verge of two historical periods before the seizure of power, in so far as they will not lead to an immediate final victory of the working class, will evoke from the communist travelling companions accusations that those battles are idle, that the communist parties are indulging in " revolutionary gymnastics." Passivity and a capitulationist attitude will be concealed beneath demagogic consideration as to the expenditure of working class forces, and the necessity of concentrating those forces on the last decisive blow. We have already had an expression of this kind of attude in estimates of the events in Berlin. Brandler's renegade group, and to some extent the conciliatory tendencies, have estimated the events in Berlin as a "putsch" deepening the cleavage between the party and the masses. They fail to realise that the international proletariat cannot approach the last barricade of the capitalist system without these continually expanding preparatory struggles. He is no revolutionary who thinks that proletarian battles like that of the Berlin May demonstration, accompanied by the construction of barricades, can take place only in conditions of a direct revolutionary situation. The work of the Comintern over the last ten years in assembling and organising the advance-guard of the working class has not been fruitless : it is a force with many defects and weaknesses in various countries, it is a young and not fully tempered force, but it is a force which will stand by every position in the battles which, with every year and every month are taking on increasingly severe forms. It will be able to fulfil its historic mission—to win the decisive strata of the working class to the idea of Communism ; not by merely supporting a state of defence, not by merely manœuvring or by postponing the struggle to a more favourable moment. Leninist strategy does not entirely exclude that kind of manœuvre, but not in the period of a growth in the revolutionary mood of the masses. In such a period Lenin adapted the entry upon the decisive struggle to the convenient moment. The Comintern can win the trust of the masses above all when it leads the leftward-moving workers and the masses of colonial toilers into a battle, the result of which must be a change in the interrelationships of classes, in a direction favourable to the working class.

The new stage of the revolutionary workers' movement consists in the circumstance that these battles are becoming one of the chief means of winning the decisive strata of the working class. Whilst social-democracy dreamed of winning the majority of the working class by peaceful means with the aid of the election machinery, by "agitation and propaganda," the Communist Parties can and will come to the conquest of the majority of the working class only through struggles on a great historical scale. And the closer the Communist Parties approach to the conquest of the decisive strata of the working class, the more stubborn and decisive will those struggles be. In those struggles the working class will check up on its party, on its readiness for the struggle, its self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the working class.

In those struggles the contradiction which was typical of the past stage of the world Communist movement will find its solution ; that contradiction was the one between the radius of the ideological and political influence of the C.P.'s and the numerical composition of their

organisations. The period of stabilisation of our organisations must come to an end. Already the C.P.'s are effecting a new re-grouping corresponding to the tasks of the new period. Woe to the party which would still act on the basis of the stability of class relationships, and in accordance with this on the stability of its own organisations; to the party which does not realise the necessity of radically bolshevising its methods of winning the masses.

THE recent crisis in the Czech Communist Party indicated to all the sections of the Comintern the danger which waits for them along this road. The time is coming when the masses, and especially those in countries where there are Communist Parties, will ask how the parties are using their influence so as not merely to weaken the pressure of world capital on the working class, but also to throw the growing consciousness of their own strength into the scale in passing to the counter-attack upon capital. This is the context of class inter-relationships in which we must consider the International Red Day against war on August 1st. The May Day events showed that in the event of a declaration of war the bourgeoisie will not find the proletariat ideologically disarmed, as happened in 1914. The power of resistance of the working class may prove insufficient to prevent the war, but that war will be fatal to the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie will not have another August 4th; it will not be able to establish a civil peace for the duration of the war. The idea of civil peace was compromised even during the world war of 1914-1918. Millions of toilers saw by experience that civil peace means the bloody Fascism which came after the war, that this is the most savage, most despicable form of civil war on the toilers, that under the sign of the co-operation of classes, of "peace in industry," we have had during the years of stabilisation a bacchanalia of repression of the proletariat and its deprivation of all its conquests. The toilers of the whole world are realising through vital experience that the only result of a prolongation of the civil war now being waged by the bourgeoisie against the toilers in the majority of the capitalist and colonial countries, will be a counter-revolutionary war against the U.S.S.R. World capitalism cannot smash the resistance of the toi ing masses so long as the U.S.S.R. exists, an at the same time it will not risk a new wa against the U.S.S.R. so long as the threat a rising of the proletariat in capitalist cou tries is not eliminated. The higher the ris in the barometer of revolutionary battles of th world workers' movement, the stronger will b the desire of the bourgeoisie to strike dow the strongest barricade of that movement– the Soviet Union. As we know, the break i diplomatic relationships between Britain an Russia was part of the legacy of the defeat of the British general strike and the Chines revolution. This fact is also confirmed by th shameless slander against the Soviet Unio which the German press, with *Vorwaerts* at it head, has indulged in since the May Days i Berlin. And at the same time, the more actua the question of an attack of the capitalist worl upon the U.S.S.R. becomes, the more openl does the attack develop against the inte national working class. Such is the interna connection between the imperialist war and re action. They go hand-in-hand, and they ar not to be separated one from the other.

The new war will be bound up with th attempts of the bourgeoisie to grip the workin class in such a vice that, in comparison, th methods of the militarist dictatorship of 191 1918 will fade into insignificance. The arre of four thousand Communists in France; th realisation of the notorious plan "Z" on Ma Day, when revolutionary proletarian Paris wa squeezed in a ring of "Gardes Mobiles" draw from the provinces; the methods of civil wa applied during the May Days by the Germa bourgeoisie and social-democracy, metho which incorporated the last word in militar technique; are all merely rudimentary indic tions of the perfect and polished system strangling the toiling masses which will b adopted in war-time.

THE working class would betray its hi toric mission if it postponed its strugg against war until the moment when the wa actually breaks out. They are criminals wh lull the militant will of the proletariat with th pacifist considerations that the tendencies economic interests (trusts and syndicates) interlock, will predominate over the tendenci of the intensifying antagonisms; that agre

ments on an international scale can avert the war; that the coming war is a question of decades ahead. Like blind pups, they do not see facts which clamorously announce their existence. The civil war in Afghanistan, organised by Britain on the very frontiers of the U.S.S.R.; with bandits crossing into the U.S.S.R. territory, is a little war foretelling the great wars against the U.S.S.R. The civil war between Nanking and Shensi in China is a little war between America and Britain, it is the first indication of the great Pacific war. Our August 1st is a day of militant proletarian warning, a day of the mobilisation of the toilers' forces for resistance to reaction and the war. There are hundreds of thousands of Communists throughout the world, behind whom march millions of toilers; oppressed peoples who have never read one word of Lenin or the "Communist Manifesto" are fighting in all parts of the world with our methods of class force. We would not be worth a brass farthing if we were unable now to exploit this energy of the masses; if we did not respond to the bourgeoisie's preparations for war and to the capitalists' offensive, by the mobilisation of the toilers throughout the whole international front. Hitherto, the struggle of the working class has lacked co-ordination. The unequal development of capitalism creates an unequal distribution of the reserves of revolutionary energy in the international workers' movement. It is impossible to make an artificial, simultaneous world revolution. But to draw from this the conclusion that international support to the revolutionary movement of any one country is possible only given a favourable correlationship of class forces in other countries, is absolutely reprehensible. We have countries with different degrees of development of the workers' movement; with varying importance of the Communist Parties and social-democracy; with varied tempos of growth in the internal and external antagonisms. And these conditions determine the degree and form of the demonstration of international solidarity which every individual Communist Party will organise in support of the revolutionary movement in another country.

The epoch of imperialism through which we are now living is an epoch of the international unification of capital for the struggle with labour; in addition to the struggles which occur within the bounds of individual national and State frontiers, the situation demands of the working class a concentrated offensive on an international scale. International demonstrations of this type have so far been extremely poor. Leaving May Day out of consideration, the campaign over the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, the international support of the British general strike, the fortnight for the Chinese revolution, and the recent anti-Fascist campaign were all conducted with inadequate energy. In certain countries the consciousness of the Communist Parties is obscured by provincialism, in others by the conditions improved by national limitations, the inability to link up problems of an international nature with the immediate needs and demands of the working class of that country. On August 1st the organised Communist movement of the whole world must make a resolute step towards eliminating these vestiges of the past. It will make a trial of its strength in a simultaneous international demonstration. On August 1st millions of toilers will raise high the banner beneath which the Berlin workers struggled on May Day; the banner of militant revolutionary internationalism. August 1st is the continuation of May Day, 1929. We do not separate August 1st from all those struggles which the working class has recently waged, and is still waging, in various countries. These struggles will become the component part of the preparation of our International Red Day against war, for to prepare for the demonstration on that day means not only the writing of dozens of circulars, resolutions, and letters of instruction, but first and foremost, the preparation and organisation of the counter-offensive of the working class against Capitalism. The Berlin and Bombay workers did more for the preparation of the International Red Day than dozens of decisions which frequently remain dead letters. Preparation for the International Red Day means the development of ten times more energy than hitherto, it means the transformation of the large enterprises into fortresses of factory Communism, the overcoming of scepticism, and under-estimation of our strength within our own ranks. Further, it means that anti-militarist work in the

armies must be raised to its requisite standard. Wherever anyone is seriously thinking of revolution, they cannot ignore anti-militarist agitation and propaganda, no matter at what cost. We must foresee that the bourgeoisie will do everything possible in order to hinder our anti-war demonstration on August 1st. They will adopt the system of repression previous to the day, seeking to drive even our open communist parties underground. The communist parties must prepare previously to resist this blow. The bourgeoisie will not succeed in sweeping from the open arena parties with a membership of hundreds of thousands and enjoying the support of millions of workers. The German C.P. immediately after the May incidents and the persecutions following upon them, provides a pattern of the tactics which all communists must adopt in fighting every inch for the retention of the open positions already won. The mobilisation of the masses after the dissolution of the Red Front Fighters in Germany showed what can be done by a large and serious C.P. with summary methods in the open work of the party. All the parties of the Comintern must, to a larger or smaller degree, be prepared for that kind of struggle. The bourgeoisie is everywhere endeavouring to restore the terrorist methods of wartime. The task of the proletarian masses and of their advance-guard, the Communist Parties is to learn the strategy of struggle in such a situation. Only the Communist Party which passes through all stages of the civil war will be capable of carrying the toiling masses on to victory. Parties which have grown up only in a legal situation, which have never experienced the forms of civil war, or have been afraid of those forms, cannot carry the struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat on their shoulders. The severe forms of class struggle temper the proletariat, they teach them revolutionary determination, they eliminate the petty-bourgeois sentimentality, and create the pre-requisites for the realisation of the proletarian dictatorship. No power whatever can prevent the 1st of August becoming an international day of struggle against war. The working masses realise that now, while it is not too late, it is necessary to concentrate their blows on reaction and wars. By the bitter experience of the lessons of the imperialist war 1914-1918 they realise that no sacrifices now would be too great by comparison with the sacrifices which the toilers will have to suffer in a new imperialist war.

Hurrah for August 1st! the day of the proletarian class battle against war.

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The First of August, the Intensification of Imperialism & our Anti-Militarist Struggle

H. Barbe

THE importance and political significance of the First of August, as the day of proletarian mobilisation and as a stage in the Communist struggle for the leadership of the masses, have been stressed elsewhere. In this article we desire to draw the attention of all comrades to one of the aspects of this struggle which is of great importance and which has been seriously neglected by the sections of the C.I.—namely, anti-militarist activity.

The lack of systematic anti-militarist activity and the passivity prevailing among certain sections of the Party in this field are symptomatic of an under-estimation of the danger and imminence of imperialist war. This weakness, which was strongly condemned by the Sixth Congress of the C.I., still exists in a number of parties. It constitutes one of the most dangerous aspects of social democratic opportunism, because it has the effect of reducing the struggle against imperialist war to a superficial agitation by means of phrases, without any persistent anti-militarist work among the masses of workers and peasants, and above all in the military and naval enterprises and organisations of the bourgeoisie.

If the First of August is to be successful as a day of proletarian struggle against imperialist war, it is necessary for all sections of the C.I. in their preparatory activity to revive and develop their anti-militarist work. A merciless struggle must be waged against all under-estimation of the importance of this work.

THE GENERAL INTENSIFICATION OF MILITARISM

Communist anti-militarist activity must be developed and organised above all at a time when the militarism of the imperialist Powers is increasing and developing. The present period is one of unprecedented development of their military strength. The intensive preparation of capitalist economy for war, the unprecedented increase of armaments, the militarisation of the whole of public life, these are the general characteristics of the activity of the great imperialist Powers, in accordance with the aggravation and development of imperialist contradictions and conflicts and, above all, in accordance with the development of the anti-Soviet policy and intrigue.

The example of France is instructive as typical of the preparation of capitalist economy for the coming imperialist war. Thus the Act of the socialist, Paul Boncour, for the "Organisation of the Nation for Time of War" is based upon the following postulate :—

> "Wars of peoples, a world conflict, a war of effectives, of materials, scientific warfare, complete warfare, absorbing all the human and material resources of entire nations, disorganising the universe, progressively abolishing the old distinctions between civilians and combatants, in different ways dragging all into the struggle, no longer selecting its victims . . . such is modern warfare."
>
> —(P. Boncour, Report to the Chamber of Deputies.)

That is why the French Act for preparation for the next war, introduced and supported by socialists, insists upon and stresses "the necessity of detailed preparations for war, commercial, industrial and financial, as well as military." The "necessity" is expounded even more cynically a little further on in the same Act, where it states : "Future war, calling up the resources of all branches of national activity, will only be one of the actual forms taken by the general policy of a country."

This is quite different from hypocritical pacifist talk about the will to peace, disarmament, arbitration protocols and all the other lies intended to deceive the masses. The whole reality of imperialist policy and prac-

tice is found in this cynical French Act, for the introduction of which the social-democrats bear full responsibility. Everything in preparation for war—"one form of the general policy of the country"—the complete adaptation of the whole economy to this purpose, a plan of industrial, agricultural, financial and military mobilisation, so that, as Boncour put it in his report on the "Armed Nation," "On the day of mobilisation, as if by clockwork, all who were producing for peace will begin to produce for war." This preparation of the national economy for war, as also the leading part played in it by social-democracy, is in nowise peculiar to France. Look at Germany and the notorious "Military Programme of the Social-Democrats." These facts show clearly with what care imperialism and its ally, social-democracy, are preparing for future conflicts and are organising the whole national economy for their realisation.

It is on this basis that the strengthening of the military power of the great imperialist States is proceeding on all fields. It is necessary once more to stress the importance of the continual increase in the number of future combatants trained for war, whether in the regular forces or in the form of preparatory instruction in the schools or of sports organisations providing military training, or by the organisation of permanent training of the great masses of reservists.

Here are the figures of the "regular" military organisations of the great imperialist Powers :

Land Forces (in thousands)

States	1913	1923	1927	Total 1928	With reserves
United States	226	372	404	413	3,500
France	546	732	727	695	5,500
Great Britain	516	329	372	381	4,500
Italy	264	248	270	369	4,000
Japan	275	236	205	208	3,200
Total for the 5 Great Powers	1,827	1,917	1,978	2,066	20,700

There is here an increase of over 13 per cent. over 1913 for the "regular" forces alone, without counting the reserves. We must also take into account the fact that, owing to the reduction in the length of military service in several countries, a double number of men passes through the military forces. The quality a of training has made substantial progress.

As regards the other Powers, and parti larly those which border on the U.S.S.R., increase in strength of the military forces even greater. If we take Poland and R mania, the numerical increase in the arm since 1923 is not less than 30 per cent. T unprecedented increase of unofficial, Fasc military organisations in these countries m also be emphasised. In Poland, for examp the number of members of these organi tions increased from 565,000 in 1926 to o 1,000,000 in 1928.

These few figures serve to show the exte of the numerical increase in military power the different capitalist States. There is formidable array of several tens of millio of men being trained by the imperialists w a view to the rapid constitution of power mass armies, equipped with all modern tech cal devices.

In naval armaments there is an equal increa and modernisation taking place—cruisers, ae plane carriers and submarines are being bu at a feverish rate by all the great imperial Powers. The increased tension between t United States and Britain is still furth accelerating this race in naval armaments. T failure of the different conferences on d armament and limitation of naval constru tion has ended in the putting in hand of gre schemes of naval construction in all countrie especially in America, Great Britain a France.

But it is in the matter of aeroplane constru tion and increase in the strength of the a fleets that the most tremendous efforts a being made, as witness the following figures

Aeroplanes and Seaplanes

States	1923	1928	1930-32 (Estimate
France	1,350	1,650	2,000—2,5
Great Britain ...	400	850	1,000—1,2
United States ...	420	950	1,200—1,3
Italy	250	600	1,000—1,2
Japan	150	430	600— 8
Total	2,570	4,480	5,800—7,0

The development of aviation in the countri bordering on the U.S.S.R., particularly i

Poland and Roumania, is equally great and must also be taken into consideration.

	1923	1928
Poland	140	292
Roumania	112	178

This unprecedented numerical increase is doubled or trebled when the perfecting of quality is considered; increase in speed, enlargement of the field of operations, development of firing and bombing power, etc. These terrible air fleets, using all modern chemical methods of destruction, form the greatest weapon for the massacre, not only of combatants, but of the civil population in the rear. Here we have the supreme refinement of capitalist civilisation.

The increase in military expenditure equally demonstrates the will to peace of the imperialists. The following are the figures collected by the *Soldat* :

Military Budgets
(in millions of dollars).

States	1923-24	Total, 1927	Total, 1928	Percentage of total budget	Cost per head of population (dollars)
France ...	300	300	346	21.1	8.7
Britain ...	690	578	561	15.0	11.5
United States	580	685	653	18.4	5.7
Italy	136	203	254	23.8	6.3
Japan ...	187	229	235	27.8	3.9
Germany ...	109	169	168	8.3	2.7
Total ...	2,002	2,164	2,217	—	—

In the two States bordering on the U.S.S.R. that have already been mentioned, Poland and Roumania, the increase in the war budgets is still more remarkable :

	1926	1928
Poland (in zlotis) ...	624 million	745 million

It must be remembered that these are the official figures of the Ministry of War, in which a whole series of expenses is not mentioned, such as credits given to war industries, the regulation of frontiers, etc. The actual war budget of Poland was more than 844 million zlotis in 1927 and 1,025 million in 1928, showing an increase of more than 20 per cent. in one year, and making 44 per cent. of the total budget of the country. In Roumania the official war budget, which was 41 million dollars in 1927, increased to 50 millions in 1928, an increase of more than 12 per cent. in one year, and 25 per cent. of the total budget of the country in 1928 as against 20 per cent. in 1927.

Finally, all these facts show the rate at which the general and continuous development of imperialist militarism is proceeding in all fields. But they show even more clearly the necessity for Communists to inaugurate a continuous practice of systematic anti-militarist activity.

OUR ANTI-MILITARIST STRUGGLE

The Sixth Congress of the C.I. rightly pointed out that :

"One of the greatest errors made by the majority of Communist Parties is that of approaching the question of war in an abstract manner, and only from the point of view of propaganda and agitation, without sufficient examination of the question of the army, the decisive factor in all wars. It is necessary to explain to the masses the meaning of the Party policy as regards war, *and it is necessary to work inside the army*. Otherwise all struggle against imperialist war, all attempts to prepare for revolutionary wars, will remain purely theoretical."

—(Thesis of the Sixth Congress on War.)

The 1st of August and our preparations for it must above all eliminate this weakness and place the question of anti-militarist struggle, of work inside the army, in the forefront of Communist anti-war activities. The 1st of August must be a mobilisation of the proletariat against imperialist war, a revolutionary warning to the imperialists, a stage in the struggle for the conquest and organisation of the majority of the workers behind the banner and the slogan of proletarian revolution. It must be a day of struggle for the great masses of soldiers, sailors and reservists whom the imperialists are training for war.

The task of Communists is to link up the struggle of these masses with the general proletarian struggle against imperialism, against the capitalist State and its social-democratic tools. With the slogans of direct struggle against imperialist war and of solidarity with the Soviet Union, of struggle against social-democracy and the false pacifism of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, Communists must take over the leadership in the struggle

of the masses of soldiers, sailors and reservists. They must pay the utmost attention to their partial demands—increases of pay, political rights, etc.—and must link up these demands with the fundamental slogans of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war, disbanding of the army and of imperialist military forces, organised preparation for the transformation of imperialist war into revolution. Our position towards the capitalist and social democratic talk of disarmament must be widely explained. The only country which is sincere in its disarmament proposals is the country of victorious proletarian revolution; to its proposals, capitalists and social-democrats alike reply with contempt and by strengthening their military power. Our task is to expose, to the greatest possible extent, the fact that the disarmament question can only be solved by proletarian struggle. "Our slogan must be the arming of the proletariat so that it can conquer, expropriate and disarm the capitalists." (Lenin, 1916, *On the Slogan of Disarmament.*)

It is on these foundations that we must base our anti-militarist activity leading up to th First of August and after the First of Augus

Struggle in the factories against industri mobilisation, against training periods for r servists, against the manufacture of wa materials. Struggle for the establishment broad proletarian united front committe against the social-democrats, linking th struggle with the economic demands of th workers. Struggle for cessation of work on th First of August and for demonstrations in th streets.

Struggle in the barracks and camps, in th great military organisations and in the port for the break-up of bourgeois militarism, fo solidarity with the proletarian struggle agains war. Struggle for class fraternisation of th proletariat, the soldiers and sailors, demonstra ting together against imperialist war, fo support of the U.S.S.R. and solidarity wit the Red Army, the defenders of the commo fatherland of all workers.

Such is our anti-militarist task to which a Communists must devote their full energy

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

by

JOHN REED

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On the Open Revolutionary Work of the C.P.'s in the Light of the Russian Experience of 1904-14

By A. Martinov

IN his theses on "The Chief Tasks of the Second Comintern Congress," written in 1920, Lenin said: "For all countries, even for those which are most freely 'legal' and 'peaceable,' in the sense of suffering least from an intensified class struggle, a period has fully matured in which it is unconditionally indispensable for every Communist Party systematically to co-ordinate its legal and illegal work, its legal and illegal organisation. For in the most enlightened and free countries with the most 'stable' of bourgeois democratic systems the governments are already, despite their false and hypocritical declarations, systematically resorting to secret lists of Communists, to endless violations of their own constitutions for the purpose of a semi-secret and secret support of the White Guards and the murder of Communists, for the secret preparation of arrests of Communists, for the introduction of provocateurs into the Communists' groups and so on."

This problem of co-ordinating the legal and illegal work, of co-ordinating the legal and illegal organisation, has become particularly serious since the May incidents in Berlin, which herald a turning point in the development and intensification of the class struggle, not only in Germany, but in the other industrial capitalist countries of Europe, in which a Fascist regime of the classic type has not yet been established. The feverish preparation of war against the U.S.S.R., the attack on the working conditions of the working class, the attempts to lower wages, to lengthen the workers' day, and so on, have evoked a counter-offensive, and in certain places a direct advance of the working class. The parliamentary elections in Germany, France and Poland, the wave of strike movements, the innumerable economic battles, the extraordinary activity of the unorganised masses, the elections to the factory committees in Germany, all witness to the leftward drive of the working class, the last item showing that the Communists are beginning to win the majority of the working class in the large factories and are thrusting the social-democrats into the background. This swift development of the prerequisites to a direct revolutionary situation has aroused the greatest alarm among the bourgeoisie, and especially the social-democrats, and incites them to attempts by provocative methods to break up and drown in blood the advance-guard of the working class whilst it is not too late, whilst the masses have not joined in the struggle. The fulfilment of this task has been undertaken by social-democracy, which before our eyes is being transformed from a social-imperialist into a social-Fascist party. It was the S.D.P. which fulfilled the role of executioner by shooting down the workers in the streets of Berlin. After the barricade struggles in Wedding and Neukolln there followed the interdiction of the Red Front Fighters and the closing down of Communist newspapers, and preparations are now being made to drive the Communist Party underground.

What are the tasks for the Communist Party which arise out of this situation? It goes without saying, that in such conditions the parties must develop and strengthen the preparation of their illegal machinery. But this is the smaller part of the business. It would be a huge mistake for the parties, under modern conditions, to base their orientation on a retreat underground. The chief question is how, under such conditions of raging social-Fascist terror, not only to build up illegal organisation, but also to continue and further to

develop open revolutionary work, thus more and more drawing the masses into the political struggle, more and more disturbing the partial stabilism of capitalism, and so bringing nearer the moment of the open fight for power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To fulfil this task correctly it is of great service to exploit the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks' open revolutionary struggle during the period from 1904 to 1914. Consequently we shall deal with the chief phases in the development of the Bolsheviks' open struggle during that period.

In the first place we must note that it was in connection with the question of open political demonstrations, of workers' demonstrations, that the first profound disagreements were revealed in the realm of political tactics and strategy between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Whilst the organisational disagreements between them were perfectly defined as early as 1903, at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the first tactical disagreements were revealed in 1904, in connection with the question of workers' demonstrations. As a result of the military defeats of the Russo-Japanese War, in that year there was what was known as the "Liberal Spring" of Sviatopolk-Mirsky; there began the era of liberal political banquets, which achieved their apogee in November, 1904, at the Congress of Zemstvo workers,* which put forward constitutional demands. Simultaneously there was the beginning of the period of workers' street demonstrations. In this situation the Menshevik *Iskra* (*Spark*) drew up a "plan for a Zemstvo campaign." According to this plan the workers were to send their delegations to the political banquets held by the Liberals. The Mensheviks said that this kind of workers' demonstration represented "a higher type" of demonstration by comparison with street demonstrations, since the "central focus and leading threads" at the present stage are "organised pressure upon the Liberal opposition," for at these Liberal banquets, the workers face to face with the Liberal bourgeoisie, will be better able to polish up their class-consciousness than in street demonstrations. The workers' delegations at these Liberal banquets, they said, would have as their object "the conferring of greater bravery" on the Liberals, at the same time avoiding "frightening" the Liberals or inspiring them with "panic." They must stimulate the Liberals by peaceable, by parliamentary means, so to speak, to "unite with the demands of the social-democrats" and to give a "formal promise to put our demands before the government."

Lenin attacked this plan with all severity, counterposing to this another line which was quite different in principle. "The nearer the moment of decisive struggle," he wrote, "the more we must turn our attention and direct our pressure towards our real enemy, and not towards that ally which is known to be a relative, problematic ally, undependable and half-hearted." (See Lenin: *Zemstvo Campaign and the* Iskra *Plan*.) "The task of the revolutionary struggle," he said, "is preparation for the insurrection against Tsarism, and not 'playing at parliamentarism.'" Consequently the higher type of demonstration is the street demonstration of the workers before the police and gendarme stations, before the prisons and so on, and not in the least that of demonstrations of workers at Liberal banquets.

"Of course," said Lenin, "it would be unwise to ignore this ally; if we can carry out an imposing mass demonstration of the workers in the hall of the 'Zemski Sobrania' [the Assembly of Zemstvos] we shall do so, of course" (*ibid*), but we must first concentrate our strength not there but in the street, then we must go to that assembly, not with the object proposed by the Mensheviks, but with quite a different object. In the first period we set ourselves the object of, *inter alia*, shaking up the Liberal democracy, of stirring their spirit of opposition. Now that the Liberals have come out with an independent organ and with a separate political programme, our task is different: it is to criticise their half-heartedness and to "wrest a continually increasing number of proletarians and semi-proletarians, and to some extent the petty-bourgeoisie also, from the Liberal democracy in the direction of

* Zemstvo: the local government system of Russia; the "workers" in this case would be the members of the councils, etc., who were elected chiefly by the bourgeoisie and Liberal intelligentsia. (Tr.)

workers' democracy." No one, said Lenin, sets himself the aim now of evoking a panic among the Liberal opposition and of frightening it, but there is no doubt that the Liberal opposition is afraid, and cannot but be afraid, of our slogans. "They are afraid of the revolutionary socialist aims of the 'extreme' parties, they are afraid of street leaflets, the first signs of the revolutionary independent activity of the proletariat, who will not halt, will not lay down their arms, until they have overthrown the rule of the bourgeoisie. That fear is engendered, not by ludicrous methods, but by the real character of the workers' movement." It is a ludicrous and miserable idea to "give the Liberals courage by diminishing the courage of the proletariat." (*Ibid.*)

In this first dispute over tactics the main line of cleavage between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in the circumstance of a bourgeois revolution was already indicated: from the very beginning the Bolsheviks headed towards an armed rising, the Mensheviks towards "the parliamentary game." The Bolsheviks headed for the power of the proletariat, the Mensheviks for the power of the Liberal bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks aimed at pushing the Liberal bourgeoisie onward by parliamentary tactics, inciting it to put forward more radical demands to the government. The Bolsheviks aimed at unmasking the Liberal bourgeoisie and at wresting the petty-bourgeois masses from it. Thus, even over the dispute as to the nature of the demonstrations to be desired, the main differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks were revealed. And it is highly characteristic that these profound disagreements in principle followed the same line that the disagreements between the Communists and the right-wing liquidators of Communism now take. Just as in 1904 the Mensheviks placed power in the hands of the Liberal bourgeoisie, so now the right-wing liquidators of Communism are conceding power in any movement to social-democracy and the trade union reformists, taking as their main aim the instigation of the trade union bureaucrats (Zwingt die Bonsen). Just as in 1904 the Bolsheviks took as their chief immediate aim the organisation of revolutionary strikes and street demonstrations, under independent leadership and as a preparation for insurrection, going to the Liberals' meetings only in order to unmask them and to wrest the petty bourgeois masses from them, so now the Communists are independently organising strikes and street demonstrations in order to prepare for the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, participating in the reformist unions and the trade union meetings only in order to unmask the reformists, to wrest the proletarian masses away from them and to draw those masses into the Communist road. These tactics are still not always carried out consequentially, but they are the main line of our C.P.'s and must be carried out consequentially.

The 1905 revolution took the Bolshevik road; the generally recognised opening date of the 1905 revolution is not any of the Liberal banquets, and not the November Congress of the Zemsky constitutionalists, but the mass albeit naive demonstration of the Petersburg workers on the streets before the Winter Palace on January 9th; and the next important date of the revolution was not the Buligin Duma, to which the Mensheviks adapted their tactics, but the October general strike.

The October strike was succeeded by the so-called "days of freedom," which created the conditions for new forms of open demonstrations by the proletariat. The characteristic feature of this brief period was the practice by the proletariat of the so-called "seizure right." Owing to the extreme disorganisation of the State authority and the confusion of the government, frightened by the October general strike, and the summoning of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, the proletariat was afforded the possibility of seizing the universities and other public buildings, transforming them into tribunes for revolutionary meetings; owing to this same disorganisation of authority the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies was able to appropriate to itself a number of governmental functions without meeting any serious resistance from the government, so long as it had not assembled its forces for the counter-attack. In these "days of freedom" the disagreements between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks arose, not over the question of the "seizure right," inasmuch as its realisation did not call for any

serious struggle at a moment when the government was completely disconcerted, but over another issue : the estimate of the significance of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. The Mensheviks regarded it as an organ of "revolutionary self-government," the Bolsheviks as an organ of insurrection and the "rudimentary organ of the revolutionary authority."

The 1905 revolution continued to take the Bolshevik road. In Moscow there was the outbreak of the December armed rising, which was shattered after eleven days of barricade struggle.

After the December rising profound differences again arose between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in 1906, concerning the character and task of open mass demonstrations, concerning the character of the open work of the Party. The Mensheviks, and Plekhanov in particular, counselled the workers not to subject the State Duma (in which the Cadet party had the majority) to criticism, and not to allow themselves to be provoked into a struggle when the workers were not ready, for all this would play into the hands of the government, into the hands of the reaction. The Bolsheviks took up a strong opposition to this line. It is untrue, they said, that the government rejoices in the Bolshevik criticism of the Duma; the facts have shown that they attack the Bolsheviks first and foremost. The party could not support the Cadet Duma. While "unmasking the government first and foremost" it must simultaneously unmask the half-heartedness of the Cadets, and must "call upon the Labour group and the peasant deputies to take a decisive attitude quite independent of the Cadets." Finally, it must openly proclaim "the inevitability of a resolute struggle outside the Duma." In doing so, the Bolsheviks by no means pronounced themselves in favour of a premature armed demonstration. They said clearly : "We must not force events. To speed up an explosion is not in our interests at the moment." (See Lenin : *Bad Advice*.) In accordance with this they rejected Khrustaliev's proposal to summon immediately the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, for that would be tantamount to "setting up organs of the direct mass struggle of the proletariat," but at the same time they declared in favour of the organisation of Peasants' Committees, and for the following reason : "In its political development the working class has preceded the peasantry, and in its readiness for an all-Russian revolutionary demonstration the peasantry has not yet caught up to the working class. It is catching up to it steadily since December, and to a considerable extent because of December. . . . It will overtake it still more swiftly with the aid of local land committees. To drive along the rearguard, which in the last struggle did not arrive in time to help the advance-guard, is undoubtedly of service, and it is in no way risky. To drive along the advance-guard, which in the last struggle the rear-guard failed to reach in time to help, is undoubtedly risky." (See Lenin : *On the organisation of the masses and the selection of the moment of struggle*.)

During the period from 1904 to 1906 Lenin unswervingly steered his course for an armed rising. But he made the choice of the moment of rising dependent upon the presence of a number of objective and subjective conditions. So long as those conditions had not arrived, Lenin, whilst rejecting the cowardly tactics of reducing everything to the level of the most backward, at the same time took as one of the chief tasks the "driving of the rear-guard to the aid of the advance-guard," the drawing up of the rear-guard, the drawing up of the reserves, and in 1906 the drawing up of the peasant reserves in particular. These tactics are of significance for the present moment. If in Berlin for instance, two hundred thousand workers come on to the streets, despite the threat of resort to arms, if barricades are constructed by the workers as a need of the moment, and if after this the working masses who have shown their sympathy for the Communists at the factory committees elections still do not reply to the shootings with a mass political protest strike, it is evident that the immediate task here is not only to continue the organisation of street demonstrations but to draw up the proletarian reserves, instructing them on various grounds in the organisation of, albeit brief, political strikes. If in India for instance, the proletariat has already matured to a general strike, but the peasants who are in an unendurable situation, have not yet entered upon the mass struggle, here also it is evident that the pressing task is not only

to continue to develop and head the struggle of the proletariat, but simultaneously to draw up the peasant rear-guard to the proletarian advance-guard by all possible methods.

In 1906, the Bolsheviks manœuvred on the question of open demonstrations, always taking the correlationship of forces into account, at the same time not for one moment losing sight of the chief task of preparing for the armed rising for the establishment of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. In full accordance with the Bolsheviks' prediction, the peasants at that time were developing their struggle, taking on political formulation in the persons of the Labour group, more and more frequently forming blocs with the proletariat and its party, and not with the Liberal bourgeoisie nor with the Cadet party, as the Mensheviks themselves were forced to admit. (The Menshevik Dyaparidze, for instance, wrote on this point in the periodical *Thorns Without the Rose*.) But none the less, the peasant rearguard were too far in the rear, they did not arrive in time, and this determined the fate of the 1905 revolution. The years of black reaction during the Stolypin regime arrived (1907-1911).

In these years open mass revolutionary demonstrations passed off the scene, and it was a hopeless business to attempt to call them. In accordance with these conditions Lenin set the party the dual task of, on the one hand, exploiting the "legal possibilities," even those miserable legal possibilities which the Stolypin regime afforded ("formerly we talked French, now we have to learn to talk German," said Lenin), and, on the other hand, of maintaining the illegal machinery of the party, and also the party ranks, which should remind the proletariat of the "unabbreviated slogans" of the revolution, albeit in propagandist form, until the moment when a new rise of revolution would allow the party once more to head the mass movement of the proletariat. In pursuance of these tasks the Leninists began a struggle on two fronts—first against the Bolshevik "recallists," who were against the exploitation of legal possibilities and in favour of the recall of the party representatives from the Duma, and who with left-wing phrases concealed a tactic of passivity; and, secondly, against the Menshevik "liquidators," who considered the defeat of the revolution final, and accordingly proposed the liquidation of the illegal party machinery, the burial of the unabbreviated revolutionary slogans, and, in the very conditions of black reaction, put forward the slogan of an "open party."

In his struggle with the liquidators Lenin gave an exact formulation of his attitude towards the "open party" and towards the "open work of the party," two conceptions which must by no means be regarded as identical. "What is important," he wrote, "is not the ends which the liquidators are pursuing in their preaching of an open party, no matter what their intentions and appearance. . . . What is important is: What is the significance of this preaching of an open party during this 3rd of June regime* when there is no open Liberal party, and so on? The significance of the liquidators' speeches anent an open party is the renunciation of the general, national and chief conditions, and of the demands of democracy." (See Lenin: *On an Open Party*.) "To confuse an open party with open work or activity is pure sophistry, a play on words, a deception of the reader." And in proof: "In 1904-1907 there was a special development of open activity among all social-democrats. But not one tendency, not one section of the social-democrats then put forward the slogan of struggle for an open party." But, said Lenin, it is possible to have two kinds even of "open activity," and as he was explaining this in a legal journal he necessarily spoke in the language of Æsop: "Open activity is possible (and is to be observed) of two kinds, in two diametrically contrary directions: activity, which is carried on in defence of the old [*i.e.*, the revolutionary.—A. M.] activity and entirely in its spirit, in the name of its slogans and tactics, and activity which is carried on against the old activity, in the name of its renunciation, the depreciation of its role, its slogans, etc." And what historical significance has the demand for an open party put forward by the liquidators during the Stolypin period? "Only that it aids in a resolution of our crisis in the spirit of 'revolution from above' [on the lines of the Bismarck "revolution from above."

* Date of dismissal of Second Duma in 1907, and so of the beginning of period of reaction. (Tr.)

—A. M.]. But that kind of work is the work of a Stolypin labour party." (See Lenin: *Disputed Issues*, fifth article.)

The strict demarcation which Lenin made during the Stolypin period between the conception of an open party and that of open work of the party in a revolutionary spirit, is of profound importance in principle, and completely retains its force for the present-day conditions of the work of the Communist Parties. But it is obvious that the definite form of co-ordination of illegal and open work which Lenin recommended to the Bolsheviks during the period of Stolypin reaction, does not meet the present conditions. The retreat underground and the open work of the party only on the basis of exploiting the infinitesimal "legal possibilities" of the Stolypin regime were dictated by the conditions of that time, those of a profound reaction in the masses after the defeat of the revolution. To apply these tactics to the present conditions, when, together with an intensification of the Fascist and social-Fascist terror, a strong leftward movement and a swift growth is occurring in the working class movement, would be hiding opportunist passivity under left-wing phrases. The slogan of the present day is the construction of illegal machinery, but by no means retreat underground. The slogan of to-day is not "the exploitation of legal possibilities," but the development of the mass struggle of the proletariat breaking through the bounds of legality, both police and trade union, and so on.

The position taken up by the Leninists from 1908 to 1911, afforded them the possibility of maintaining the party, albeit extraordinarily reduced numerically, during the period of the worst reaction and of despairing mood, and then, when the new rise began, of again developing extensive work among the masses and of eliminating the Mensheviks, who had not exploited, but had completely adapted themselves to the framework of Stolypin legality, from all their positions. The symptoms of the approaching rise began to reveal themselves even in 1910, but the rise itself approached quite openly in 1912, after the Lena goldfields incident, in which the workers were shot down. A new wave of strikes and demonstrations set in, the number of strikers excelling even the enormous figures of strikers during 1906-7, only falling below the figures of 1905; and towards the end the demonstrations passed into barricade battles.

Again a struggle raged between the Bolsheviks and the Menshevik liquidators, over the issue of the new strike wave. The Mensheviks estimated the strikes from a purely economic, trade unionist aspect, and raised a howl against the "strike hazard," which would further exhaust the workers. Literally the same howl against the "strike hazard" has recently been raised in Czecho-Slovakia by the renegades of Communism, Hais and Co. In accordance with this attitude the Mensheviks, together with Trotsky, put forward the slogan of "struggle for the right of coalition," understanding by this struggle the presentation of petitions to the Duma. The Bolsheviks regarded the strike wave as the beginning of a new rise of the revolution, which obliged the party to throw out the old revolutionary slogans to the masses. About this time, the Liberal bourgeoisie succeeded in effecting a tremendous move to the right. From an opposition party they were transformed into an imperialist party, to an even greater extent than the government itself, and into a counter-revolutionary party. Despite this, Lenin and the Leninists regarded the new strike wave as the beginning of a general national revolutionary rise. "The revolutionary strike of the Russian workers in 1912," wrote Lenin, "has a general, national character in the complete sense of the words. For by a general, national movement, one has to understand by no means a movement which in the conditions of a bourgeois democratic revolution, all the bourgeoisie, or albeit the Liberal bourgeoisie, are solid. Only opportunists view the matter so. No, a general, national movement is one which expresses the needs of the whole country, directing its heavy blows against the central forces of the enemy preventing the development of the country. A general, national movement is one which is supported by the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of the population.

"Very much on the same lines is the political movement of the workers during this year, which has been maintained by the sympathy of all the toilers and exploited, by all demo-

cracy, no matter how weak, how crushed, how disintegrated and impotent it was. The enormous gain to the new movement is the more definite demarcation between liberalism and democracy (achieved not without a struggle against those who dreamed of 'wresting the Duma out of the hands of the reaction'). In order to have any success, the revolution must know as exactly as possible with whom it can enter the battle, who is a dependable ally, and where the true enemy." (See Lenin: *The Development of the Revolutionary Strike and of Street Demonstrations.*)

We by no means insist upon incessant prolonged strikes, said Lenin, exhausting the workers, as the liquidators ascribe to us, we insist merely upon an unbroken development of the revolution: "It is necessary to organise shorter strikes. It is occasionally advisable to substitute demonstrations for strikes. But the chief thing is that the strikes, the meetings, the demonstrations should go on incessantly, that all the peasantry and all the troops should learn of the stubborn struggle of the workers, that the villages, even the most out-of-the-way, should see that there is trouble in the towns, that their own folk have risen, that they are struggling for life and death, that they are struggling for a better existence, for higher wages, for an end to the licentiousness and arbitrariness of the authorities, for the transference of the landowners' land to the peasantry, for the overthrow of the landowner monarchy of the Tsar, for the Republic. We must see to it that the most inarticulate indignation and unrestrained murmurings of the villages, and also the agitation of the barracks, should find a centre of attraction in the revolutionary strikes of the workers' centres. We must work to this end, without folding our hands, and we shall see the day when the proletariat, jointly with the peasantry and the troops, will throw out the landowners, overthrow the Tsarist monarchy by a popular insurrection." (*Ibid.*)

Lenin's plan was brilliantly justified by life. The revolutionary movement of the proletariat unbrokenly rose for three years, until 1914, when it began to pour itself into the form of barricade battles. It developed without concern for the harsh repressions of the 3rd June regime, despite the fact that against it was a united front from the Tsarist government, through the national, Liberal, imperialist, counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, to the Menshevik liquidators, inclusive. In the course of this struggle the Bolsheviks, who in 1912 had finally broken all organisational connection with the Mensheviks, laid the new basis for the new, purely Bolshevik party which headed the mass movement, and swiftly began to remove the Mensheviks from their posts and to squeeze them out of all the legal positions which they had previously succeeded in occupying. The Bolsheviks threw the Mensheviks out of the unions, they took possession of the workers' seats in the Duma, the circulation of their legal newspaper "Pravda" far exceeded that of the Menshevik legal newspapers. The Bolsheviks were moving swiftly to victory until 1914, when the world war broke out and snapped the thread of revolutionary development, but snapped it, as we know, not for long.

Such was the Leninist combination of illegal work with open work among the masses, such were the fruits of this consequential and also flexible strategy and tactics pursued by the Bolsheviks in the realm which interests us at the moment. The Bolsheviks' strategy and tactics during 1912-1914 bring us directly to the problems which have arisen very acutely before the C.P.'s of the capitalist countries, and particularly before the C.P. of Germany since the May Day incidents.

Of course, there cannot be any complete analogy between the present situation in capitalist countries and that which prevailed in Tsarist Russia during 1912 to 1914. In Russia 1912 marked the beginning of a new rise of the bourgeois revolution. We are now living in a period of world proletarian revolution, and the new rise now beginning will lead to a direct struggle for the power of the proletariat and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Russia the new rise began after a number of years of Stolypin reaction, here it is beginning after a brief period of the partial stabilisation of capitalism. There, the new rise began in a situation of approaching imperialist war between the two coalitions of imperialist robbers, here, it is beginning in a situation of an approaching counter-revolutionary war against the country of proletarian

dictatorship. There, in addition to the extreme reactionaries, the Liberal bourgeoisie played a very large role in the united counter-revolutionary front, making a very considerable move to the right, with the Menshevik liquidators at their tail. Here, in addition to the great bourgeoisie, an equally big or even bigger part than that played by the Cadets and Octobrists in Russia, is being played in the counter-revolutionary front by the social-democracy, which has also consummated its evolution from social reformism to social-Fascism, and its tail is composed of the right-wing renegades of Communism. In backward Russia the main condition of success was the winning of the many millions of peasantry to the side of the proletariat and the revolution. In the leading capitalist countries the main condition of success is the winning of the majority of the working class to the side of the Communist advance guard.

Despite these differences, it is quite evident that the marks of resemblance between 1912-1914 and the present third period in the crisis of capitalism are ver ygreat. Now as then, war is swiftly approaching, class antagonisms are intensifying to an extraordinary extent, on each side of the barricades a broad front is being built up: on the other side, the counter-revolutionary front from the extreme Conservatives to the social-democrats, on the other, the front of the swiftly revolutionising proletariat. And whilst at that time the accentuation of the antagonisms was most clearly manifested in one country, Russia, now that accentuation of antagonisms is also most clearly manifested in one country, Germany, the proletariat of which is, at the present moment, the scout of the international movement of the proletariat in capitalist countries. Consequently it is clear that the methods of combining illegal work and open revolutionary work in the masses which the Bolsheviks applied in 1912-14, can to a considerable extent be applied now by the Communist parties of capitalist countries, and the success of their application is guaranteed to the same extent. We have not yet a directly revolutionary situation in the capitalist countries, just as there was no such situation in Russia in 1912. In accordance with this, after the Berlin barricades, our German party correctly announced that the slogan of armed insurrection was not yet on the agenda. But the development in Germany is moving unswervingly in that direction, just as it did in Russia after the Lena episode. For it cannot be regarded as an accident that, despite the shooting down of the Wedding and Neukolln workers after May Day, in Germany we had new mighty demonstrations in a number of towns—in Hamburg, despite the proclamation of martial law; in Essen, where 35,000 demonstrated in the Square of the Republic; and in other towns. And it is no accident that despite the interdiction of the Red Front Fighters in a number of towns, the Red Front participated in the demonstrations, attaching to their caps a card with the inscription "We are proscribed." It is no accident that in Berlin itself, where the Zörgiebel hounds undertook the task of instilling panic into the workers by shooting them down, after the May Day incidents, at one large metallurgical works the elections to the factory committee again gave a victory for the Communists over the social-democrats.

Of course revolutionary development does not proceed along a straight line, and we need not be troubled if there are certain zig-zags. There were zig-zags in Russia during the 1912-1914 period also. Whilst in Berlin a demonstration of 200,000 was successfully organised on May Day, despite the threat of being shot down, such imposing street demonstrations were not organised in Paris on May Day. On the other hand, whilst 80 per cent. of the metal workers and 100 per cent. of the wood-workers and builders struck on May Day in Paris, in Berlin, after the barricade shootings, it was not found possible to evoke a sufficiently imposing strike in protest. This of course has its special reasons. In Paris since the world war, the workers have not had any experience of street battles. On the other hand, in Berlin the workers are not yet accustomed to join in political strikes quite so easily as the Russian workers. Of course a certain part was also played by the sectional errors of our parties, despite the soundness of their general line. But although the worker masses and our parties have not yet learnt this, they will succeed in learning it. In this regard it is highly significant that the unorganised

worker masses are now manifesting very great activity, and this always has been and is now the most reliable symptom of a growth of the revolutionary situation.

The social Fascists, who can see the approaching storms and are seeking to save themselves by a bourgeois attack upon the U.S.S.R., are hastening by terrorist methods to drive the Communist movement underground, and thus to cut off the proletarian advance-guard from the masses of the proletariat. These tactics can be successful only partially and temporarily. In the last resort it will only be pouring fat on the fire. In the first place, it is more difficult in the leading industrial countries to carry out in its entirety that experiment which the Fascists have carried out in the backward countries. Secondly, it is impossible to drive completely underground a party which already has deep roots in the masses, in the situation of a swift growth in the revolutionary mood of the masses. The provocative tactics of the social-Fascists must stimulate our parties to strengthen, consolidate, and swiftly organise their illegal machinery. But the main task is that of setting the course for the revolutionary struggle in the street, the mass breaking of the frameworks of illegality, the unbridling and heading of the broad mass movement of the proletariat both economically and politically, the winning of the masses away from the social-democrats, the conquest of a majority of the working class in the process of this developing revolutionary struggle. By these methods our parties should prepare themselves after the May Day incidents for the International Red Day of August 1st, which will be an imposing demonstration of the proletariat against the attack being prepared against the U.S.S.R., against the debauchery of social-Fascism, against the economic offensive on the working class, and in the name of the imminent decisive struggle with the capitalist system.

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The Mobilisation of the Peasantry for the Fight Against Imperialist War

K. Manner and Rusticus

THE PEASANTS AND THE WAR DANGER

THE thesis of the Sixth World Congress on the "Struggle against imperialist war and the tasks of the Communists" raises the question of the urgent necessity of carrying on anti-war propaganda among the peasants. In section A, "The Proletariat Fights Against Imperialist Wars," attention is directed to the favourable, as well as to the difficult, factors in this work. The thesis declares :

"This work is facilitated by the strong anti-war sentiment prevailing among the peasants in many countries. The bourgeoisie, through the medium of the big landlords and big farmers, and through Ex-Service Men's Leagues, the press, Fascism, pacifism, the churches, etc., strive to consolidate their influence in the countryside, and to rouse the 'fighting spirit' of the peasantry." (Par. 15, section *b*.)

The statements in the thesis briefly but clearly describe the connections between the peasants and the imperialist war danger. Class differentiation among the peasants is an important factor in regard to their attitude towards the war danger. The contradiction between the agrarian bourgeoisie (large landowners and rich peasants) and the toiling, producing peasants is becoming clearer in the matter of the war danger. This contradiction has not yet become conscious and familiar for all the peasant masses everywhere, but objectively it is so decisive that it will necessarily become one of the most effective weapons in the class education of the peasants. The agrarian bourgeoisie everywhere is in the camp of the imperialist war-mongers, the capitalist incendiaries ; while all sections of the producing peasantry (the middle and poor peasants) are only passively bearing the burden and suffering of armaments and imperialist wars, and therefore belong, in virtue of their most elementary interests, to the camp of the revolutionary proletariat, fighting against imperialist war.

THE UNITY OF THE LARGE LANDOWNERS AND THE IMPERIALISTS

The active participation of the landowners and big peasants in imperialist war-mongering is only one aspect of their unity with finance capitalism. This close community of interest is, in all the countries of imperialist Europe, characteristic of the present period of capitalism, not only in the industrial and semi-industrial countries, but also in the predominantly agricultural countries. Even in those countries (such as the Balkans, Hungary and Spain) where fairly strong vestiges of feudalism remain in such matters as the distribution of land, the systems of agricultural tenancy and labour conditions ; feudalism has lost those of its characteristics hostile to capitalism. There are no longer any feudal monopolies barring the way to the capitalisation of agriculture. There is rather a united bloc of monopoly capital and land ownership which, although it may often give rise to internal friction about the division of the booty, is held firmly together by identity of interest in the suppression and exploitation of the workers and peasants. The agrarian bourgeoisie, now an integral part of finance capital, therefore co-operates with its imperialist colleagues in their war policy, and independently carries on a policy of spreading militarist and Fascist propaganda among the peasants.

This war propaganda is one method by which the agrarian bourgeoisie masks its alliance with finance capital. Similarly the sham, demagogic attack on monopoly capitalism, on capitalist tariffs, fiscal legislation, etc., is intended to serve the purposes of the establishment of

an "agrarian united front" as a part of the militarisation of the peasant masses. It is designed to distract their attention from the true class causes of their impoverishment, and to create an effective counter-balance to the revolutionary leadership of the landless.

THE AGRARIAN BOURGEOISIE AND THE SOVIET UNION

However, since the peasants' struggle for emancipation has received encouragement and impetus from the example and the effects of the revolutionary emancipation carried out by the peasants themselves in the Soviet Union, the attacks of the agrarian bourgeoisie are directed against the Soviet Republics; and its parties become more or less obvious bulwarks of the imperialist united front. The hostility of the agrarian bourgeoisie is increased by the fear that the expanding agriculture of the Soviet Republics may, within a comparatively short time, become a dangerous competitor on the world agricultural market.*

THE IMPERIALIST-MILITARIST ATTITUDE OF THE AGRARIAN BOURGEOISIE

These are the motives determining the imperialist-militarist attitude of the agrarian bourgeoisie in capitalist countries. That attitude is embodied and apparent in the following ways:

(1) The political parties of the large landowners and peasants are everywhere in favour of and promote, imperialist sentiments, the increase of armaments, the education of the people in the militarist spirit, the extension of the privileges and the uncontrolled autocracy of the officers, etc., in the various States. These parties are obviously on the most extreme wing of imperialist militarism.

(2) The organisations representing the interests of the agrarian bourgeoisie take an active part—together with the capitalist magnates—in the breeding of Fascist military bodies and in the militarisation of the still non-class conscious peasantry. The intellectual arsenal of Fascist propaganda seems externally to be fairly rich. It uses nationalist and clerical poisons, and repeatedly declares itself to be the most outspoken, radical and anti-capitalist peasant party. The object pursued is the same—that of breaking the masses' power of resistance to the outbreak of imperialist war, and to the terrorist suppression of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement. By spreading Fascism and militarism among the peasants the agrarian bourgeoisie is making preparations on a national scale for a new imperialist war.

(3) This same work is done on an international scale by the world organisations of the agrarian bourgeoisie. There are at present various competing international associations of the powerful agriculturalists. The greatest are the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome, the Green International, with its seat in Paris, and the Prague International Agrarian Bureau. Among themselves they fight for leadership, but in the matter of imperialism they are united.

The International Institute of Agriculture at Rome (originally only an inter-State bureau for agricultural statistics, which has now been supplemented by the establishment of "social leagues" in many countries) is under Mussolini's patronage and influence, and acts openly as a part of Fascism. The Green International is apparently organised only on an economic basis, and is controlled by the large landowners, etc. The Prague Bureau, on the other hand, maintains the attitude of "peasant democracy," and is anxious to act as the central body of the political peasant parties. Both bodies, however, agree in solidly supporting the peace and disarmament policy of the League of Nations. This is also characteristic of their attitude to the danger of imperialist war; so that the open Fascist war-mongering of the national organisations of the agrarian bourgeois is effectively promoted by the "alternative methods" of pacifist deception and disarmament swindle.

This is the background against which the agrarian bourgeoisie is stirring up warlike

* Such fears have been expressed fairly candidly in the journals of the large agriculturalists, recently in connection with the five-year plan of Soviet economy. The paper of the German "Reichslandbund" (27-4-29) speaks of the great danger to German agriculture from the import of cattle and meat from the Soviet Union.

feelings in all the capitalist countries of Europe. It would take us much too long to enter in detail into a concrete description of the position in the different countries.

THE PEASANTS AND THE WAR DANGER

On the other side we have to consider the attitude of the peasants themselves to the imperialist war danger, an attitude which is one of instinctive rejection. The process of the awakening of class consciousness and the organisation of the emancipation struggle still meets with tremendous difficulties from terrorism, isolation and pacifist illusions. It is, however, in full swing, and there have been many peasant demonstrations which prove that the peasants are, to an increasing extent, arming themselves for a revolutionary struggle together with the workers against the imperialist war danger.

We shall give a few examples of the organised struggle of the peasant masses against the war danger.

(1) The International Peasant Council carries on the work of educating and organising the peasants. The International Conference of Peasant Delegates, held in Moscow in November, 1927, issued the slogan of "Fighting the preparation for new wars," and the national sections of the Peasant International are working hard to put this slogan into operation.

(2) The International Anti-Fascist Conference, held recently in Berlin, was attended by the representatives of 30 organisations of working peasants, who showed their readiness to fight the danger of Fascist and imperialist war.

(3) The National Conference of French Peasants called by the General Confederation of Peasant Workers (*Confédération Générale des Paysans-Travailleurs*), and held from 1st to 3rd March, 1929, in Montlucon, issued an appeal to the peasants of France concerning the approaching danger of war and the piling up of huge armaments by French imperialism. The appeal added :

"At the same time, the encirclement of the Soviet Union is being continued. The imperialist States realise, with growing fury, that a sixth part of the world has been withdrawn from their sphere of exploitation. The existence of the Workers' and Peasants' State is an example which they cannot bear to see. . . .

"We shall never permit war on the Soviet Union. We shall never allow ourselves to be used as the cannon fodder of imperialist interests."

(4) The Unity Conference of the peasants of Slovakia, held in November, 1928, in Levice (Czecho-Slovakia), passed a resolution of protest against the suppression of minor nationalities and against imperialist war, etc.

(5) The revolutionary toiling peasants of Poland, and particularly those from the national minorities, have often demonstrated their anti-bourgeois and anti-Fascist feelings. The anti-war feeling of the Polish peasantry was shown, for example, in the Polish manœuvres of 1928, about which the French General Le Rond wrote in his secret report :

"The whole population vanished. Cattle and horses were taken by their owners into the woods and hidden there. With the exception of the local officials, the population did absolutely nothing to support the troops." ("Secret Report on the Polish Army," *Rote Fahne,* 14-3-1929.)

These examples, selected from many others, none the less point to the circumstance that the agitation among the masses of toiling peasantry is beginning to be effective. In numerous capitalist countries the peasant masses are beginning to realise their vital interests, and are revealing a tendency towards organisation, and towards revolutionary methods of pursuing these interests. These are the prerequisites for the toiling peasantry and their revolutionary organisations to take active part in the international manifestation against war, organised by the proletariat for August 1st (even though it coincides with such an important period of agriculture as harvest time).

On the other hand it has to be remembered that all the great bourgeoisie, will, with the aid of the large landowners, the large landowning peasantry, the village petty-bourgeois compromising parties and unions, and with the aid of social democracy, carry on work with all their resources in order to prevent the dissatisfied, anti-war minded peasant masses

from demonstrating jointly with the proletariat on August 1st.

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS

The overcoming of these, by no means petty, antagonistic factors, and the exploitation of the favourable factors with a view to ensuring that the masses of toiling peasantry in the capitalist countries should take a genuine part in the August 1st campaign against the imperialist war and in favour of the Soviet Union, against the bourgeoisie and its petty-bourgeois agents; none the less depend entirely on the extent to which the Communists succeed during the next few weeks in organising their work among the peasants, and how far during the coming weeks they succeed in carrying on work against the imperialist war.

In its resolution "The international situation and the tasks of the Communist International," dealing with the growth of the danger of the imperialist war, the Sixth Congress of the Comintern emphasised that it was necessary to increase the work among the peasantry generally, for the Communist Parties have neglected that work, as the resolution rightly pointed out. The Sixth Congress resolution on "The struggle against imperialist war and the tasks of the Communists" directs attention more definitely to this work. In that resolution one reads, *inter alia* : "In view of the fact that the peasantry constitutes the bulk of the army in most countries, special attention must be paid to anti-war work among the peasants." (Par. 15, b.)

Against the struggle of the bourgeoisie to mobilise the masses of toiling peasantry on the side of the war preparations ("through the medium of the big landlords and big farmers, and through ex-Service men's leagues, the press, Fascism, pacifism, the churches, etc.") the Sixth Congress put the general task of the Communists : "Communists must counteract this activity by their work to sharpen the class struggle in the countryside." (Par. 15, *b*.)

In all work which takes this task as its aim, the following definite circumstances must be taken into consideration :

(1) The personal experience of the peasant masses in the first imperialist war must be exploited (the mobilisation of the male population, the husbandries left to the old men, women and children, which lead to the ruin of the small peasant farms; the requisition of horses, cattle and carts for war purposes, either without recompense or for an insignificant recompense; the absence of industrial products and the rise in prices; the desolation of the peasants' fields, forests, living and farm buildings; the extraordinary extension of the powers of the large landowner and police, and so on). In all countries directly concerned in the theatre of war activities this experience is still in the memory. It has only to be revived.

(2) We must turn our attention to all the measures of the bourgeois State, which in the majority of countries have already been undertaken in order to prepare for the new imperialist war, and in order to subject the peasant masses once more to the service of Finance Capital, imperialism, the class interests of the large landowners and the affluent peasantry (the registration of the peasants' means of production, such as horses, cattle and means of transport; the militarisation of the adults, youths and even the children, and their subjection to the orders of the town and village bourgeoisie.)

(3) The increase of the taxation burdens in equal proportion to the growth of war armaments and the war budget is a circumstances known to all the peasant masses from bitter experience. It is one of the chief factors in the development and intensification of the anti-war attitude of the peasants. This circumstance contributes also to the rising of the toiling peasants against the agrarian bourgeoisie, who bear relatively smaller taxation burdens, and are identified with the bourgeois State authority, which is weighing down the population with taxation.

(4) In many countries the land hunger of the peasantry is also an issue contributing to the rising of considerable sections of the peasants against the large landowners and the affluent peasantry, who represent an obstacle to the satisfaction of that hunger.

(5) The oppression of the national minorities is also a factor in the struggle of the peasant masses of the European oppressed nationalities against the bourgeoisie of the

dominating nationality, and even against the bourgeoisie of the national minority, which, as examples show, are in general working together with the bourgeoisie of the national majority in exploiting the toiling peasant masses for war purposes. At the same time it must be remembered that as the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie has grown and its war preparations have increased, the leftward trend of the masses has been extended and their discontent increased, whilst the oppression and persecution of the national minorities has grown, assuming ever more severe forms. That oppression and persecution is concentrated first and foremost in the peasant masses of the minorities, which in the most instances constitute the main part of the national minority. In the "Thesis on the struggle against imperialist war" the Sixth Congress directed special attention to these national revolutionary movements, declaring that :

"The national revolutionary movements in the Balkans, Poland, etc., play an extremely important part in the struggle against the imperialist war danger and in transforming imperialist war into civil war. The struggle against the imperialist war danger in these countries must be linked up with the fight against the remnants of feudalism and against national oppression, and must be directed towards the development of the agrarian and national revolutions.

"Hence the establishment and expansion of a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed nations against capitalism and against the imperialist war danger is an exceedingly important task that now confronts the Communist Parties." (Par. 15, section *c*.)

Starting from this point, the theses also give us indications of the definite demands which can be put forward in the work among the national minorities, and especially among the soldiers of the bourgeois armies who are drawn from those minorities. The theses say on these demands :

"The fact that in numerous imperialist countries a considerable percentage of the armies is recruited from among oppressed national minorities, whereas the officers either entirely or for the greater part belong to the oppressing nation, provides very favourable ground for revolutionary work in the army. Consequently, among the partial demands we advance in the interests of the masses of the soldiers should be included demands corresponding to the needs of these oppressed nationalities (for example, military service in their home district, the use of the native language in drilling and instruction, etc.)." (Section III., par. 46, sub-section 2.)

Starting from this definite basis and carrying on the work with definite slogans, it ought to be possible to draw considerable masses of the toiling peasants into the demonstration of August 1st. In addition, a further condition of the success of the work is that the Communists should first enter into close co-operation with the revolutionary organisations of the peasants themselves, and, second, that the Communists should carry on planned and energetic fraction work among the reactionary peasants' unions. These measures, taken in conjunction with the general agitational work among the peasantry should considerably facilitate the organisation of anti-war conferences of the petty agriculturists, with a view to preparation for the demonstration of August 1st.

"International Day" in Countries Dominated by the White Terror

Ruggiero Grieco

THE events of the First of May in Berlin are characteristic of the present international situation. It was in Berlin, that is to say, in the capital of that European country which emerged from the war more democratic than any other, that 30 workers were killed and several hundred wounded on the First of May, 1929, because they wanted to demonstrate on the streets. The right of the masses to hold street demonstrations has been cancelled by the capitalist government in nearly every country in the world. In Berlin, the social-democrats who are in power refuse to allow demonstrations in the streets. In Milan, the streets are held by the Black Shirts. In Paris tens of thousands of police and national guards protect the streets from the Bolshevik menace. In Vienna the social-democrats combine with the clerical Fascists to forbid the workers access to the streets. But the proletariat, driven unarmed from the streets, will return with arms. If formerly the conquest of the streets meant for the European proletariat the conquest of the elementary right of organisation, the right of independent participation in political life, to-day their reconquest means armed struggle against the capitalist State, the struggle for proletarian power.

The economic conflicts of the workers during the period of the normal development of capitalism were characterised by the fact that they were successful in wresting from capitalism concessions which—within certain limits—successfully increased the absorption capacity of the home market. The working class struggles for wage increases were controlled and politically directed by the aristocracy of the workers; but in all countries, in different ways and in accordance with the unequal development of capitalism, they resulted up to a certain point in improving the material status of the workers. Naturally these concessions were wrested from capitalism by means of struggle, and often by means of long and arduous conflicts, in the course of which the workers gained an ever greater class consciousness. The development of the working class movements into political struggle during the last century and the first fourteen years of this, was expressed by the formation of labour parties and socialist parties, by means of which the proletariat entered upon political life as an independent force.

The economic factors which are the cause of political reaction in all capitalist countries, lie in the structural modifications brought about during the world war, and particularly in recent years, in the machinery of production and in the technical development which has powerfully stimulated productive forces. Capitalism is now confronted with formidable and insurmountable problems. The renewal of constant capital on a highly perfectionised technical basis, and rationalisation, which diminishes the amount of variable capital, cannot find compensation within capitalism. An unprecedented and destructive diminution of the labour power employed, the existence of permanent unemployment, these are the consequences of the raising of the organic composition of capital. The struggles of the workers and of the unemployed against capitalism are meeting with determined resistance. And the determined resistance of the capitalists to the workers' attacks is organised politically, that is to say in the State, in a very different manner from the type of political organisation of the great capitalist offensives in the pre-war period. The capacity of large-scale capital to compete is to-day conditional upon the ever greater possibility of its controlling all the productive and political forces of the State and the State's foreign policy; this is why large-scale capital interests itself in a growing degree in State affairs. This gives an increasingly political

character to economic struggles. The working class struggle against *capital* becomes ever more clearly and consciously a struggle against *capitalism*. Consequently the struggle for the improvement of the economic conditions of the proletariat, in almost every country, and more clearly every day, assumes the character of the proletarian struggle for political power.

The appraisal, therefore, which we must make of the radicalisation of the masses, must be more critical than that of the opportunists, whether right-wing or conciliators. If in France, for example, in the last three months there have been 700 strikes, if for some months an average of 50,000 workers have been on strike every day, these facts have a different significance from the facts of class struggle in a "normal" period, or during a phase of "consolidated" stabilisation. I take the example of France, because economic struggles there have still only to a small extent a political character, and therefore this example might be quoted by the opportunists in order to contradict the theses of the C.I. on the radicalisation of the masses. Now what can we learn from the development and results of the French conflicts? This: That the French workers see that struggle on the economic field, struggle by sections and groups for immediate wage demands, cannot be successful in the basic industrial enterprises unless they assume the character of open political struggle.

This is shown not only in France; in all countries where the proletariat is carrying on economic struggles it is faced with the necessity of passing to a higher form of struggle. The hesitations of the proletariat are due to a multiplicity of causes, and, above all, to the fact that the working class is becoming more and more convinced that an enlarged and co-ordinated struggle will inevitably assume an acute revolutionary character for which it is not yet effectively prepared. In Poland and in Germany the same conviction is spreading among the masses.

If we consider a different situation from that in "democratic" countries, that is to say, the situation in a country dominated by the White Terror and by Fascism, we find that the character of the economic struggle there becomes acutely political and revolutionary from the moment in which the workers of the great industrial centres begin to move. Why did the strikes which broke out in Italy in 1927-28 never touch the great factories of Turin, of Milan or Genoa, but only the lesser industries employing a smaller number of workmen and those of a mixed character (that is, workers socially bound to the land)? It is not difficult to answer this question. The workers of Turin and Milan feel that to come out on strike, and to carry on the struggle to its logical conclusion, would mean to oppose the whole State apparatus, the muskets of the Fascist militia and of the carabinieri; they feel that a strike at the Fiat works in Turin, which would, in fact, mean a general strike in Turin, would necessarily have a revolutionary, insurrectionary character. These considerations do not remove the necessity and the importance of the tactics of developing small agitations around the least demands of the workers. It is thus that the great masses will pass on to this experience; but it is clear that the character of the existing conflicts cannot be compared with that of conflicts in a "normal" period of capitalism, and that the degree of radicalisation of the masses, and its manifestations in different countries, must be evaluated differently and by means of analysis of the character of stabilisation in each country.

* * * *

One of the most important factors giving a new character to existing economic struggles is the function of social-democracy in capitalist economy. The economic function of social-democracy is one of the striking features of the present period. When partial stabilisation first began the function of social-democracy was not clearly apparent to many workers. German social-democracy, for instance, appeared to the workers as the defender of the republic against the threat of reaction. Its thesis was as follows: "We must save the republic from an economic catastrophe from which reaction would benefit. We must allow the economy of the country to re-establish itself. This is necessary so as to consolidate the republic. The workers must to-day press forward no demands. To-morrow, when the economy of the country has been restored, we shall give better conditions to the workers."

The British Labour Party adopted a similar position.

Actually the part of the social-democrats in capitalist economy was and is the same as that which Mussolini declared when he marched on Rome. Mussolini never maintained that the workers were paid sufficient, nor that an offensive should be conducted against their wages. On the contrary, he said that it was necessary to restore the economy of the country, after which fair treatment would have to be given to the workers.

But faced with the fact that capitalist stabilisation has developed contradictions of such magnitude and depth as have never previously occurred, the social-democrats have had to devote themselves entirely to the defence of the capitalist regime; and, since they were originally instrumental in bringing about this stabilisation, they have had to continue in this role, assuming an ever more reactionary position. The conversion of social-democracy to Fascism is one of the characteristics of the present period. The process is accomplished by a change in the nature of social-democracy. With varying degrees of rapidity, but by a continuous process, its social bases are being modified, and the influence of the non-proletarian elements grows continually in relation to that of the proletarian elements, while the political leadership has already freed itself from all control by the rank and file.

The Fascist economic-political role of social-democracy has become evident in all countries. It is not yet clear to the masses, but the experience of recent struggles, in which social-democracy in power has used the armed forces of the State against the workers, is extremely valuable and serves to demonstrate to the more backward masses the reactionary role of the social-democrats. Where the degree of radicalisation of the masses is more advanced, the armed struggle between the revolutionary workers and the social-democrats is already beginning. An advanced stage of radicalisation will everywhere find expression in this armed struggle with the social-democrats, who now form the advance-guard of capitalism.

The chief task confronting all the communist parties at the present moment is that of educating the masses as to the different forms assumed by capitalist reaction in different States, according to the relationship of forces existing; to show the masses, struggling for immediate demands, that social-democracy in power, beneath its cloak of a different ideology, carries out the same policy towards the proletariat as open Fascism. The ban on the First of May demonstrations in the streets was not imposed by Horthy, by Mussolini, nor by Pilsudski or de Rivera, nor by King Alexander; it was imposed by the Prussian Government, whose Minister for Home Affairs is a social-democrat, whose Chief of Police is a social-democrat, at a time when the social-democrats were in control of the Reich Government. The social-democrats had to show capitalism by deeds that they were able to maintain order, and that this capitalist "order" could be maintained by social-democrats as well as, if not better than, by nationalists and Fascists. In Germany and Britain, and everywhere else, there is a competition between the social-democrats and the bourgeois parties as to who best can maintain capitalist 'order'; here in Italy the social-democrats speak and write against "Fascist anarchy," and put forward candidates on a programme of restoring "democratic order."

But if we fail to see in this competition to maintain "order" one of the most characteristic aspects of the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. and the revolution, we shall be guilty of a failure to understand the lesson of this period; we shall go forward blindly towards war; we shall betray the cause of the revolution. In a "normal" period of capitalist development, the independent political struggle of the proletariat, influenced by the social-democrats, would suffice to keep large sections of the masses bound to the social-democratic leaders. But the thesis of new capitalist normality and of super-imperialism is proclaimed by these same social-democrats in power. Zörgiebel proclaims Kautsky and Hilferding. Fundamentally it was these theoreticians who prepared the powder for the dum-dum bullets of Zörgiebel's machine guns.

The Zörgiebels, the Mullers, the Boncours, and all the "socialists" who support the reign of terror in the Baltic countries and in Poland, in the Balkans and in Spain, are preparing for the Disarmament Day which the Second International has proclaimed for the 4th August. The traitors of the 4th of August could not have chosen a more significant date. It is a cynical challenge to the European proletariat. It was the "pacifists" of the Second Inter-

national who betrayed the workers on the 4th of August, 1914; it was these "pacifists" who drew up the Boncour Military Act in France, and who, with Renaudel, are at the head of the militarist air policy of French capitalism. It was they who in Germany built cruisers and achieved the First of May murders, who in Poland have organised the Fascist Guard against the workers. It was they who in England took the initiative in the establishment of the Singapore naval base and voted credits for it, who sent cruisers to Egypt to intimidate a people striving for independence, who participated in the Simon Commission.

The demonstration which the C.I. has ordered for the First of August against reaction and the threat of war, must summon the workers to fight against the "pacifist" policy of the social-democrats. The pacifism of the Second International is a powerful instrument in the preparations for imperialist war and for armed attack on the revolution.

The working class, under capitalism, is becoming more and more oppressed by reaction and White Terror just because war is approaching, just because new and terrible events are preparing for war on the revolution and the U.S.S.R. The proletariat must defend itself by taking the offensive. The transformation of the imperialist war into revolution is a revolutionary slogan for which we must prepare from to-day onwards. "International Day," the First of August, is not an ordinary demonstration, a mass meeting against the danger of war, with resolutions and declarations as its weapons. No! International Day must be a phase in the struggle for the future.

* * * *

How can the proletariat and the working masses in those countries that are dominated by the White Terror take part in International Day? The Communists must make clear to the masses that White Terror, that Fascism, that reaction mean war. The First of May, in several countries where there is a White Terror, has shown a relatively important increase of activity among the labouring masses. The workers generally, in the countries of Fascist dictatorship, are apt to under-value their own forces. The machinery of oppression and the long struggles have broken their power of solidarity; the reactionary policy of capitalism endeavours to diminish their sense of their own unity. This is the result which it hopes to accomplish whenever it attacks the workers. We have to re-establish the sense of unity of the proletariat, which has been destroyed by Fascism; this means, to re-establish its consciousness of its own might. These general tactics apply more or less to all countries oppressed by Fascism; the methods of application necessarily differ in different countries. But one method common to all cases is that of stimulating the struggle of the masses for immediate concrete demands.

In all Fascist countries the conditions of the workers and peasants are terrible. In Poland, in Italy, in Spain, the demands of the workers and agricultural labourers for wage increases have already been formulated, as have also the demands of the peasants with reference to taxation etc. In the Baltic countries, in Poland, and especially in White Russia, there is famine. In these countries and in the Balkans, in Italy and Spain, the fiscal system keeps the peasantry in a state of continual unrest. Unemployment is everywhere stagnant, with a tendency to increase. All these immediate demands must be widely taken up and must become the basis on which to organise the hatred of the workers against war.

Owing to the starvation of the workers, the unprecedented military expenditure of the Fascist States is a valuable agitational weapon. The military expenditure of Fascist States is not limited to the army and navy, but extends to the whole State apparatus. The apparatus of the Fascist State is one of the most important instruments of war. It anticipates and supplies every one of the chief necessities of modern warfare, in which the military front is no longer the sole factor. A new factor, which will be fundamental and decisive in the next war, is the home front. That is why the State apparatus, the Fascist militia, defensive organisation and propaganda at home, demand the utmost solicitude in all countries and have already been perfected in Fascist States. All this powerful complex war machinery costs fabulous sums. The revenues of the Fascist States are swallowed up by military expenditure. We have to say to the starving, terrorised workers and peasants that their conditions are made worse by the squandering of thou-

sands and thousands in preparing for a fresh carnage.

Agitations for immediate demands, in several Fascist countries, if they are successful in reaching vast masses of workers and peasants and in setting them in motion, immediately assume a pronounced political character. But political mass demonstrations have already occurred in countries where there is White Terror and reaction: in Finland (against the military laws), in Spain and in Poland. In Poland the campaign of the "Three L's" (Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg) carried out by our Party was successful in arousing the interest of large sections of the masses. In several of the Balkan States (Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Roumania) we have had recent political mass demonstrations. But our illegal parties in Fascist countries are faced with the problem of organising the defence of the masses. It is impossible for us to conquer the timidity, the sense of weakness, which dominates the masses to-day, by means of agitation alone. Every large mass movement to-day, for whatever object it is undertaken, finds itself confronted, in the Fascist States, by the armed apparatus of the State. Preparations for the defence of the workers and peasants must leave the realm of propaganda and come out on to the solid ground of organisation. It is inconceivable that the sense of solidarity and of power can be reconstituted among the masses, who have been crushed by reaction, without the organisation of centres of workers' defence.

We must arouse among the masses a more active resistance to the White Terror. Our parties have fought against reaction and Fascism and have suffered enormous losses; they feel themselves too weak for their task, and this spreads pessimism among their ranks. It is certain that if, in order to change the relationship existing to-day between the forces of the proletariat and those of reaction, it were necessary to await the rebuilding of our parties and of the mass organisations, this pessimism would be justified. But this is not the way in which we shall succeed in the countries under the Terror. We shall succeed only by means of the masses in movement. Our voice, even if weakened, is of extreme importance because of the leadership which it gives to the masses; but above all we must speak by means of facts.

It was we who spoke through the Lodz strikes and in the First of May demonstrations at Vilna and Kovno. Our voice was heard in the First of May demonstrations in Finland and in the fight of the partisans in Venezia Giulia. It will grow ever stronger and clearer, increasing and deepening the unrest of the masses against the Terror. In the difficult conditions brought about by the Fascist regime and by the White Terror, we must hide ourselves in the working class, in order to agitate, to set it in motion, to lead it and to rise along with it to-morrow at its head.

It is not true that we have been defeated or—worse still—destroyed by the White Terror. This is proved by the fact that wherever we succeed in establishing close contact with the masses, in no matter what Fascist country, we are able to assume the leadership, with a strengthened political position. It is only contact with the masses which can give the exact measurement of the degree of our influence. In those countries where our parties have been able to maintain this contact, as in Poland, reaction has been held at bay and the masses have not lost the possibility of demonstrating on the streets.

The example of Poland has many lessons for us. We admit that the Polish experiences cannot be transplanted automatically into Jugoslavia or Bulgaria or Italy; but they do contain a policy which holds good for every country under the Terror. It is this: that it is necessary to re-establish political contact with the masses in spite of all obstacles and in the shortest possible time; every delay makes the task more difficult.

We have said above that conflicts in the chief industrial centres—and that not only where there is White Terror—are not yet taking place, and we have not succeeded in interesting all the workers of a district, nor even, with some exceptions, all the workers of one category, simultaneously. One of the reasons we have given for this seems inevitable, but it is certain that this phenomenon deserves deeper analysis. In any case, the laws of strategy make us seek ways in which it may be possible to induce a lessening of police and military pressure in the great capitalist indus-

trial centres and to compel the dispersal of the armed forces of the State, their diffusion instead of concentration, so as to weaken their efficacy. Three quarters of the National Guards (about 30,000 men) were concentrated in Paris on the First of May. This enabled the provincial demonstrations to be carried out with relative freedom. Nor was this all: in some cases the demonstrators in the provinces were able to overcome the weak police defence. If the First of May demonstrations in France were carried out in accordance with a definite plan on our part, it is not difficult to derive certain important lessons from them. It is a question for us, then, of obtaining the mobilisation of the provinces. In the countries where there is White Terror these tactics have a particularly noteworthy strategical value, because it is in the country that the strongest centres of reaction and Fascism are found. From the military point of view, it is obvious that diffusion of the enemy forces means a loss in their efficacy; and our tactics should aim at hindering concentration in every way. From the social point of view, mobilisation of the provinces means the mobilisation of the peasantry and agricultural labourers. Judging from certain episodes in recent Italian history, it seems fairly safe to say that, in countries where there is a White Terror, the proletarian revolution might break out in the country, where the military conditions are objectively more favourable to the beginnings of insurrection. But we must have a definite plan of campaign, and not trust to chance and to events. Our plan of campaign might be one of simultaneous development of struggles in the great industrial centres and in the country. It would be a mistake to concentrate our attention on the industrial centres alone, and a mistake for which we should have to pay dear.

The First of August must represent the maximum force which, in existing conditions, it is possible to achieve to mobilise the hatred of the masses for reaction and war, and in order to prove our capacity for leadership.

In many countries where there is White Terror, the conviction is growing among the masses that the Terror can only be got rid of by means of war; that it is necessary to await a war, to hope for a war soon. This frame of mind is spreading throughout Italy. In Bulgaria, in Roumania (particularly in Bessarabia, where the peasantry await the Red Army), in Jugoslavia and in the Baltic States, this attitude is prevalent also. Its positive side is that it expresses the burning desire of the masses for arms. This positive side must be cultivated by us. But how? By arousing and organising struggles for partial demands, by enlarging and giving political significance to mass movements, and by organising workers' defence. These are the necessary conditions for the restoration of that proletarian unity which has been shattered by reaction and without which any transformation of an imperialist war is impossible.

The international demonstration of the revolutionary proletariat on the First of August must serve as an occasion for the arousing of political activity among the masses in the Fascist countries and among our illegal parties, showing the Fascists that the proletariat revives, however often they may believe they have crushed it. But above all, in these countries the demonstration of the First of August must be given a character of a striking manifestation against social-democracy. The proletariat, oppressed by the reactionary Fascist regime, has nevertheless been able to experience in these countries as well as anywhere else the function of the social-democrats. At the Anti-Fascist Conference in Berlin last March, the resentment of the masses in the Balkans, in the Baltic States, in Poland, Spain and elsewhere, was expressed against the social-democrats, the instruments of capitalist dictatorship and of preparations for war. We must show international social-democracy that the proletariat is awakening and will not again allow itself to be duped.

Events which are preparing in the world with great rapidity make it our duty not to be taken by surprise. The C.I. has given the alarm in time to all workers. We must remember that the hesitations which until today have prevented capitalism from declaring war, are largely due to the vigilant attitude of the proletariat. We have to reinforce and strengthen our positions, from which to carry on the struggle against imperialist war.

Our illegal parties are at times bewildered by the existing inequality between our forces and those of the enemy. But our strength lies in the masses, where it is growing to gigantic proportions.

Under the Banner of Militant Internationalism

Bela Kun

MR. MACDONALD'S motor-car—the generous gift of thankful capitalists to a generous Labour leader—has rattled along the road to Windsor, but no democratic-pacifist melodies can now be detected in the noise. Scarcely any vestiges of that old democratic pacifist mask are left on the Labour Government, and continental social-democracy will have great difficulty in spreading such illusions among the European working class as those which at the time of the first Labour Government were expressed in the phrase, Lenin has fallen, MacDonald has risen. Nevertheless, it may be stated with certitude that at least before August the First, the social-democrats will again try to use this method in the preparations of war.

The new English Labour Government is social-democracy's trump card held against the Red Day of the international revolutionary proletariat. August the First must, therefore, show that although MacDonald has again traversed the road from Windsor to the capital of British imperialism as the Prime Minister of His Majesty the King of England, and although he may again disappear, should this be found convenient by the British bourgeoisie —nevertheless, the militant internationalism of Leninism is more powerful, more alive than ever. It is stronger, sounder, more steeled in struggle than ever before, because the proletariat to-day needs a more militant internationalism than we were accustomed to speak of in previous periods.

Undoubtedly there is some faint external resemblance between the present international position and the position obtaining when the first Labour Government in England undertook the management of British imperialism's business. But behind this external similarity there is a fundamental difference between the two Labour Governments. The Fifth World Congress of the C.I. described the situation as the "democratic-pacifist phase" of the post-war period. At that time in England the Labour Government, with the leaders of the Second International at the head, was at the helm. In France the victory of the left bloc had made the French section of the Second International an important part of the French Government. In Germany the social-democrats cleared the way for the execution of the Dawes Plan, and although standing outside the coalition, they were the strongest support of the bourgeois dictatorship in its fight against the proletariat. In America public opinion was full of illusions about the pacifist La Follette party. The position was the same in other countries, where the fact of a number of social-democratic governments strengthened democratic-pacifist illusions.

Now Messrs. MacDonald and Co. have again become the business managers of British imperialism. In France, Briand and Boncour will certainly try to overthrow Poincaré if MacDonald stays in office at least a few months. In Germany, the social-democrats preceded their English colleagues by their entry into the coalition government. In many smaller countries social-democracy forms an important part of the bourgeois governmental power.

This external resemblance should not, however, for one moment blind any worker to the fact that the present Labour Government will not use the pretences of democratic pacifism. It is true that in many countries the imperialist bourgeoisie is again trying to entrust the salvation of weakening stabilisation to those who in the democratic-pacifist era were the instruments of capitalist stabilisation; but it no longer allows them to use democratic pacifist phrases in order to hide their class treachery. Rather, it demands from them a public avowal of their part in the war preparations of their "own" imperialism. The social-democratic policy of coalition, begun during the war, has entered on a new phase. Social-democracy has

returned to the higher stage of coalition policy, but it is one which directly supports war. The social-democratic leaders do not now deny that this policy is one of suppressing the proletarian class struggle, which aims at the destruction of the foundations of capitalism; and is therefore a policy which supports their "own" State. Democratic pacifist phrases have lost their effectiveness for both the government socialists and the left social-democrats. At the German Social-Democratic Congress in Magdeburg, Dittmann proclaimed the right of the German bourgeois republic to arm itself in defence of the "socialist elements in German economy and society," for, according to Dittmann, socialist elements in the Hindenburg-Müller-Hilferding republic are ten times as numerous as in the Soviet Union. One of MacDonald's most important election promises, and one most effective in winning over the bourgeoisie, was that the continuity of the foreign policy carried on in the interests of the British Empire would not suffer in the least if the electors were to vote for MacDonald and not for Baldwin. And who will doubt that in this matter MacDonald would break his solemn promise to the bourgeoisie? In France there is no more certain safeguard of the continuity of Poincaré's foreign policy in the event of a governmental crisis than a government which sends Boncour, not as a mere delegate, but as the Foreign Minister to Geneva to oppose proposals for disarmament. War preparations on a world scale are now at a much more advanced stage, Anglo-American hostility, the contradiction between the Soviet Union and the imperialist world, the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the colonies—all have now become too sharp for the bourgeoisie at this stage in the preparation for war, to allow the social-democracy—although it protects the interests of capitalist stabilisation—to carry out manœuvres like the democratic-pacifist manœuvres of a few years ago.

The capitalists understand the present position of capitalist stabilisation much better than their social-democratic agents or the renegades from the ranks of the C.I. and the conciliators hovering on the right wing of the Communist Parties. The attitude of the international imperialist bourgeoisie to the economic struggles of the working class, its instructions to the police authorities—often social-democrats—confirm this statement. The international bourgeoisie also has a correct understanding of the leftward movement of the working class and of the growth of working-class militancy. It realises that this leftward movement means that the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, will at no distant time utilise the breakdown of capitalist stabilisation for the purposes of revolutionary attack; and therefore it tightens the reins by which it guides the parties of the Second International. In the realm of home politics the bourgeoisie does not permit those parties to make any considerable excursion into the sphere of social demagogy, just as it does not allow them, in foreign policy, to use the phraseology of democratic pacifism to the extent that they did formerly. The General Strike and the miners' dispute proved to the international bourgeoisie that when the working-class movement is in an advancing period, even social-demagogic phrases are capable of seriously endangering capitalist stabilisation; partly because working-class conditions are so bad that the workers snap up social-demagogic phrases, and partly because the relative stabilisation of imperialist capitalism is so weak that even socialist phrases can be a danger if the masses take them in the least seriously. This explains the extreme moderation of the British Labour Party's election campaign, and its really conservative, statesmanlike moderation after the election victory. The German social-democrats have given up even speaking of any extension of social legislation; the most they promise is to resist any abolition of social-political laws—of course, in words only and not in deeds. The French social-democrats frankly seek support from the petty-bourgeoisie to strengthen their forces in the fight against the leftward movement of the workers.

The new form of class co-operation which the Second International has now carried in the sphere of foreign policy to the extent of taking a leading part in war preparations, can no longer be explained by social imperialism alone; it is due also to the rapid growth of social Fascism. May the First, Zörgiebel's bloody May Day, is not a transitory incident, just as the social Chauvinist role of the Second

International during the war was no transitory incident. Red May Day in Berlin was the measure of the inner nature of the tendencies in the development of social-democracy, on an international, as well as a national scale. The weapons of the 13,000 police under social-democratic control, sent their bullets into the bodies of the Berlin workers, but the sound thundered in the ears of the workers of the whole world: this concerns your own cause, this concerns you and the destiny intended for you by the social-democrats. Powder and shot —in peace and in war, this is the leitmotif of social-democratic policy to-day, developing rapidly towards social Fascism. The limits of social-democratic "pacifism" and "internationalism" are to-day determined by the extent to which the international imperialist bourgeoisie is interested in concealing their war preparations, or in postponing war until the political and military preparations for war have reached the highest possible stage. This task was fulfilled by the Left social-democrats according to all the rules of the art of division of labour. The Levis, the Blums and the Cooks, as against the Wels, Thomases and Müllers, still have the job of preaching platonic internationalism, but for a short time only. Even the platonic internationalism, whose bankruptcy was so thoroughly exposed during the last imperialist war and which, in the democratic-pacifist epoch, increased only slightly in strength, will be endured by the Second International parties for only a little while longer. The "real pacifism" of Hilferding and Co. has also become too much of a good thing for some capitalists at the present stage of war preparations. Other bourgeois politicians think that "real pacifism" will be useful for some time longer as a necessary cloak for real armaments, but it must not be allowed, even in appearance, to put obstacles in the way of real armaments. The impatience expressed at the Magdeburg social-democratic congress shows clearly that the Second International will be forced to banish this platonic form of internationalism from its ranks, within a more or less short time. The best proof of this is that the spokesman of Austro-Marxism, Otto Bauer, who used to set the "international tone" for the Second International, defended imperialist policy in a much more real fashion than the spokesmen of "real pacifism" themselves.

For such a situation, the only representatives of working class internationalism—also the only representatives of the working class generally—are the Communist Parties. The world political position however, requires a great strengthening and extension of this internationalism. Provincialism and national narrow-mindedness are not only corollaries, but are important sources of right deviations on the question of the war danger and its urgency. It is no accident that social-democratic traditions in the different sections of the C.I. were manifested among the representatives of these traditions in the narrowness, the provincialism of their attitude to the war danger. It was partly due to these social-democratic traditions, hidden under the surface, that the sections of the C.I. sometimes failed to respond correctly to great events of international importance in the working class movement. The British General Strike and Miners' Lock-out did not receive the international response, the international support which, as events of world importance, they had every right to expect from all sections of the international working class movement. Nor did the Chinese revolution receive the support of the workers of imperialist countries on which the Chinese workers and peasants had every right to count. It is no exaggeration of self-criticism to say that the Communist Parties did not do everything they could have done to strengthen the interest of the workers in these events and transform it into active support. More encouraging is the perceptible effect of the May events in Berlin. The brutal and bloody actions of the social-democratic police chief, Zörgiebel, the heroic struggles of the Berlin workers, awakened a stronger international echo than the British General Strike or any event in the Chinese revolution; partly because the working class of every capitalist country is itself feeling the effects of the third period, partly because the fight against the right wing involves also the subjugation of the remains of provincialism, national limitations and platonic internationalism within the sections of the C.I. It would be an exaggeration to state that these remains have disappeared entirely from the Conservative Parties, and that they no longer exercise any influnce over the

ideas and the attitude of individual Communists towards the problem of war. Red Day, which is for us the day of the international mobilisation of the masses against the international war danger, must therefore bring with it a complete break with provincialism, with national narrowness, platonic internationalism and all vestiges of pacifism; and the fight must be organised under the banner of militant and active internationalism.

The fact that the anti-war fight among the workers is proceeding on such a large scale gives August the First, Red Day, an historical importance in the international proletarian struggle against war. The last manifesto of the Second International directed against war, the Basle manifesto, was not for a moment taken seriously by the leaders of the Second International. They organised no single activity, either on a national or international scale, which would prepare the workers for action in the struggle to resist war. The C.I. and all its parties must make every effort to make August the First, to make International Red Day, more than a single trial of strength, more than a unanimous demonstration of our forces. That day must give evidence of an enduring development of the activity of the working masses in the struggle against war, of the development of a mass movement, under the banner of militant internationalism, which will force the bourgeoisie to reflect seriously before it again unleashes the fury of war, since a new imperialist war will find the workers well prepared. August the First must also free the most backward sections of the workers from the limitations of national narrowness and provincialism. It must show every worker that the inevitable imperialist war can and must be fought, and that action on the part of the revolutionary mass movement in the event of war is not impossible, if the international proletariat is prepared in time.

It may be safely asserted that the international bourgeoisie and its social-democratic agents will, when there is a Labour Government in England, use varied methods against the international demonstrations of the militant International. The methods used in Berlin and Paris on May Day will not be the only ones made to serve the purposes of the bourgeoisie, which will set every wheel in motion in order to utilise the MacDonald Government, if only for a short time, to spread democratic and pacifist illusions in opposition to the Red Day demonstrations. Not many illusions, but just enough to disorganise the ranks of the international working class demonstrating on August the First. It will scarcely allow any more illusions than it considers absolutely necessary for the purpose, since democratic-pacifist phrases no longer accord with its policy. Its chief weapon therefore will be not the word but the deed, the truncheon and the bullet, used against the militant international because it will not surrender its position of struggle against imperialist war. The re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government will also be used before August the First by the bourgeoisie to deceive the workers. The deception of the workers watching over the Soviet Union will be one of the objects in this new recognition, by which MacDonald's Government hopes to save British imperialism from disaster. With this recognition it will spare neither money nor effort to stir up international hatred of the Soviet Union, of the proletariat and the peasantry, in order to prepare public opinion for a new rupture of diplomatic relations and for the new war which will follow.

The advent of the Labour Government therefore gives a new importance to 1st August; that day will mark the attack of the revolutionary workers on social-democracy in all its forms, from social pacifism to open social Fascism. MacDonald has arrived, Zörgiebel is having the guns leaded again, Boncour is preparing to take over the part of Sarraut, great efforts are being made in the preparation for war to bind the working class of all countries once more to their "own" bourgeoisie, so that, in the interests of that bourgeoisie they may murder each other.

That is why, on August the First, Leninist, militant internationalism must lead the proletariat of every country as a great and organised whole, against the bourgeoisie of their respective countries, against social Fascism, class against class on an international scale, and under the banner of militant internationalism—this is the meaning of Red Day.

The Struggle for the Street and August 1st, 1929

(The Lessons of Self-Criticism)

AUGUST 1st, the international day against war, is now close at hand. We need to make the most urgent survey of what has been done and what remains to be done. The Communist International has flung down iis menacing warning to international capital. The Comintern has decided that, in spite of all the difficulties, all the police barriers, all the refinements of the employers' terror, all the bestialities of Fascism and all the scurrilities of social-democratic treachery, on August 1st, 1929, there shall be demonstrated the unshakable will of millions not to allow a repetition of the imperialistic wars; and the readiness of those millions under the banner of the Comintern to continue the preparations for overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie all over the world. The ruling classes of all countries are adopting, and will adopt, the most exceptional measures in order to nullify the preparations made by the Communist Parties for August 1st. The international proletariat and its advance-guard, the Communist Parties, must at all costs nullify those exceptional measures of the class enemies. And in order to achieve this, ruthless self-criticism is a paramount necessity.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PROVINCIALISM

Self-criticism must begin with a criticism of provincialism in the work of the Communist Parties. Provincialism, a merely feeble development of a militant internationalism, is the direct heritage of the social-democratic origins of the Communist Parties. The characteristic feature of the social-democratic parties of the Second International is that of national limitations. This provincialism is pointed out in the political resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, where it is characterised as one of the chief defects in the work of all C.P.'s. Of recent years that provincialism has proved a powerful hindrance and at times has even completely nullified the work of all the large international campaigns of those years. Thus for instance, during the British miners' lock-out in 1926 genuine support to the heroic miners was provided only by the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. Not one other section of the Comintern succeeded in arousing any class movement of the proletariat which was serious enough to play any essential role in the support of the miners (either in regard to material help or the stoppage of coal supplies to Britain). And so not one C.P. can say that it did everything possible in order to develop the most intensive work in the organisation of aid to the British miners. Meantime the enormous importance of the British miners' lock-out of 1926 was absolutely obvious. The parties recognised that international importance in words, in resolutions, but in practice they were inactive.

Another test of the militant internationalism of the C.P.'s was provided by the Campaign of Aid to the Chinese revolution, carried out in 1927. That campaign was also of an international importance obvious to all. But again only the C.P.S.U. fulfilled this international debt in its entirety. Not one of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries developed any serious work in its own country, and as a result, this campaign was wholly and completely unsuccessful.

At the end of 1928 (*i.e.*, even after the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the specific mention at that Congress of the poor development of militant internationalism) in connection with the bestialities of the Fascists in various countries, the question was raised of holding an International Anti-Fascist Congress and of carrying out extensive preparatory campaigns for that Congress in the various countries. It is quite obvious that the C. P.'s of all countries, and, first and foremost, the C.P.'s of countries in the grip of Fascism,

should have taken the most active part in this work. And yet, on this occasion also, the defects in militant internationalism, the old social-democratic traditions, predominated over the discipline of the Communist International and the elementary demands arising out of defence of the every-day interests of the proletariat. So far as one can judge from the Party press and other party and enemy documents, in no capitalist country whatever was the International Anti-Fascist Congress preceded by great mass work. Were there any opportunities for such work? Unquestionably there were in all the chief capitalist countries. One has only to point out that even in Austria, with its small and generally very weak Communist Party in contrast with a mighty Social-Democratic Party of half a million, the non-party workers elementally tackled the question of driving the Fascists out of the enterprises, supporting these demands with protest strikes. The Austrian C.P. was not capable of seizing upon the slogans thrown out by the workers themselves, was not capable of heading the movement and of connecting it up with the anti-Fascist and general political struggle of the proletariat in other countries. The same has to be said of the C.P. of France, which is working in a country where there is an enormous number of political *emigrés*. The Anti-Fascist Congress was held legally in Berlin. The German party, and the Berlin organisation in particular, did not organise the requisite big political demonstration in celebration of the Congress. That could have been, and ought to have been, done, and yet it was not done, for, failing to correctly estimate the importance of such a demonstration, the C.P. of Germany did not undertake the necessary measures in sufficient time, and as a result everything ended with a comparatively small meeting in the Busch circus building. Quite obviously inadequate. So far as the Anti-Fascist Congress is concerned it would be unjust to lay the blame on the local organisations. The chief responsibility falls on the Party members and Party organisations which had charge of the immediate preparations for the Congress, and participated in carrying it through. It is an indisputable fact that the resolutions of the Congress were published a month after the end of the Congress; and the practical lessons of the Congress, the consideration of the defects in its preparation, and of how to avoid a repetition of those defects, has not even yet been set down on the agenda of the Communist Parties. Yet it is obvious that the experience gained in preparing for the Anti-Fascist Congress would have played an essential part in successfully preparing for May Day. Now for a little self-criticism in regard to May Day, 1929.

THE MORE IMPORTANT LESSONS OF MAY DAY 1929

The preparations for the celebration of May Day, 1929, were also marked with serious defects.

Those defects chiefly concern this same question of militant internationalism. Only in four countries (not counting the U.S.S.R.), Germany, France, Poland and to a certain extent China, was May Day a real militant day of Communist anti-war demonstrations. But even in these countries the C.P.'s committed serious errors and omissions. The C.P.'s of other countries, judging by the materials at our command, failed to get beyond the traditions of previous years in their May Day campaign (more or less typical social-democratic methods of celebrating May Day), and they correspondingly failed to give May Day the special significance which arose out of the feverish preparations of the imperialist Powers for new wars, and the counter-revolutionary degeneration of social-democracy. These defects in celebrating May Day, 1929, were revealed especially clearly in the C.P. of Sweden.

As the telegraphic agency informs us, in Sweden the C.P., as well as the social-democrats, decided to call off the May Day demonstration owing to the bad weather. That is a typical Philistine social-democratic motive, and it proved to be identical with the motive of the Swedish Social-Democratic Party. The Comintern called upon all the Communist Parties and the proletariat to show their readiness to struggle against the criminal war designs of the imperialist robbers, and simultaneously to demonstrate their own militant international solidarity. Having received these demands, the Swedish comrades decided to stay at home owing to the bad weather. Is that the way to prepare for revolution?

Obviously not. Evidently the Stockholm proletariat are also not in agreement with this manner of treating the question; there was a demonstration in Stockholm on May Day, and speakers were invited from the Communist Party. But the party was incapable of even sending speakers to this workers' demonstration. The Stockholm workers gave a lesson to their leaders. The leaders apparently did not take this lesson to heart. Perhaps a voice coming from an international tribune will awaken them from their social-democratic trance.

The question is of very serious importance so far as the Swedish C.P. is concerned. Through its deputies in parliament it recently put forward pacifist liberal proposals on the question of disarmament. It is not hard to see the internal connection between opportunist views on the question of disarmament, and the lack of desire to turn out into the streets in bad weather in order to demonstrate their will for revolutionary struggle against imperialist wars. The C.P. of Sweden is one of those very few C.P.'s in the Comintern which of recent years have grown unbrokenly in numerical strength. In preparing for August 1st the Swedish party must at once seriously face up to the question of the direction of its further growth. Which way should it grow? It must grow in the direction of the workers who are ready for revolutionary struggle against the class enemies; ready to support the international revolutionary demonstrations; ready to aid the healthy revolutionary elements inside the C.P.'s; ready to carry through the necessary decisive struggle against opportunist deviations and vacillations. Otherwise the C.P. of Sweden will drop out of the August 1st campaign, just as it dropped out of the May Day campaign, despite the fact that the traditional form of the May Day campaign was considerably easier to carry through.

In certain countries (Austria and Switzerland, for instance), despite all the instructions of the Comintern, the C.P. organised May Day demonstrations jointly with the social-democrats. It is true that in those cases where the Swiss C.P. organised demonstrations jointly with the social-democrats they tried to organise separate meetings, and to prevent the social-democratic speakers from speaking. This last method was perfectly correct. Whilst summoning the working class to the Communist May Day demonstrations, carefully preparing and ensuring their leadership in such demonstrations, yet, independently of the success of these Communist demonstrations it is absolutely necessary to do everything possible in order to disorganise the meetings and demonstrations of the social-democrats, and especially to address ourselves to the social-democratic workers with speeches and with printed disclosures (pamphlets, etc.) of the treacherous and counter-revolutionary role of the social-democratic leaders.

It is necessary to single out specially the inadequate preparations for the May Day campaign shown by the C.P.'s of Britain and Czecho-Slovakia.

The C.P.G.B. may adduce its smallness in its justification. But it is May Day which in all countries, Britain included, should have stimulated the numerical growth of the party. Then again, in the situation of the third period, when the masses are elementally rising to the struggle, the decisive role in the preparation of revolutionary demonstrations is played not by numbers so much as by a sound political line, a sound organisational approach, and a maximum persistence, supplemented by a ruthless self-criticism. The numerically small C.P.G.B. was able to organise enormous revolutionary marches of the unemployed. The C.P.G.B., which in the Comintern represents a country playing a particularly important part in the preparation for imperialist wars, did not adequately fulfil its international obligation so far as May Day was concerned. In preparing for August 1st the British comrades and the entire British proletariat must make all the necessary deductions from this fact.

The C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia, which also holds a very responsible post in the struggle against imperialist wars, and which numbers several dozen thousand members, cannot fall back on its numerical weakness. On May Day, 1929, the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia once more demonstrated that it is not sufficient merely to change its opportunitist leadership in order to live down its previous social-democratic passivity and opportunist wobblings, but that it is further necessary that the new leadership

should carry on a genuine struggle against the opportunist traditions, and that above all the mass of the party membership should enter upon a ruthless struggle with those traditions. That is the obligatory prerequisite of a worthy preparation for August 1st in Czecho-Slovakia, as the Sixth Congress of the Comintern demanded.

In order to illustrate the vitality of the social-democratic traditions in the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia one needs but to give the following example. During the May Day demonstration in Prague certain workers' columns turned up with posters directed against the police. The leading comrades of the Prague organisation persuaded the workers to withdraw these posters on the ground that it was unwise to provoke the police and so on. By such methods one will only ruin all the preparations for August 1st.

The East and the Struggle Against Imperialist War

Tsui Vito

TEN years after the Imperialist war of 1914-1918, after the bloody slaughter of millions, we are again hearing talk of outlawing war, of conferences on disarmament, which are being zealously advocated by the imperialists and supported by international social-democracy. We are hearing the hypocritical phraseology of pacifists of various shades, which is unprecedented, the most miserable of all the deceptions of the toiling masses. And in reality the imperialists are arming every day, they are preparing for a war of extermination, for war is inseparable from capitalism. War can be abolished only by the abolition of capitalism, i.e., by the overthrow of the class of capitalists throughout the whole world, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the construction of socialism and the abolition of classes. The antagonisms between the imperialist powers in the struggle for markets are being more and more definitely revealed. The partial stabilisation of capitalism which the imperialists have effected since the first imperialist war, with the aid of the social-democrats and at the cost of an intensification of the exploitation of the working class, has been followed by a period which marks the rise of capitalist economy to the pre-war level. This new period even more severely accentuates the antagonisms arising from the increase of productive forces and the contraction of markets, makes inevitable a new period of imperialist wars, gigantic class battles and colonial risings against imperialism. Meanwhile, the Russian October Revolution engendered by the first imperialist war, which established the dictatorship of the proletariat over one-sixth of the world's surface, has set up quite new conditions, different in principle from the conditions which prevailed at the outbreak of war in 1914.

These new conditions consist first in the existence of the U.S.S.R., in its enormous growth in economic and political strength, being a growth in strength of the first state of proletariat dictatorship in the world, the sole fatherland of the proletariat and the country of socialist construction..They consist secondly in the fact that during the past ten years the millions of the masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East have risen to the struggle against imperialism.

The Eastern peoples of the former Tsarist colonies have been emancipated; a gigantic series of revolutionary disturbances have occurred in China; the Indian proletarian's struggle against British imperialism and its struggle with the national-reformist native bourgeoisie for the domination of the emancipa-

tion movement are intensifying; there are constant outbreaks of insurrection among the oppressed peoples of the colonies in Africa, Arabia, Morocco, Syria, etc.; all the revolutionary toilers of the East are to an ever greater degree linking their struggle with the international proletariat and particularly with the Soviet Union. That is why the increase in contradictions among the imperialist powers themselves is surpassed by the chief antagonism which is dividing the world into two camps: on the one hand the entire capitalist world, on the other the U.S.S.R., around which are grouped the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the colonies. The struggle for the annihilation of the Soviet authority of the U.S.S.R. and for unrestricted domination over the colonies, especially over China, which is not yet finally partitioned, the struggle for the possibility of exploiting the enormous reservoirs of raw materials and markets in those countries, constitute a problem of the utmost importance for the international imperialist bourgeoisie, and a basis for an imminent imperialist war.

Under such conditions, it is obvious that the imperialists will strive with all their power and resources to prepare for the gigantic new imperialist slaughter. That war will be a life and death struggle of the old imperialists, clinging firmly to their prey, against the new imperialists, who are striving at all costs to seize these for themselves. In the coming war, the role of the colonies will be considerably bigger than in the last, for while in the last war the colonies played almost exclusively the role of the object of war, the role of prey, in the coming war they will offer a revolutionary resistance to the imperialists. They already have their leader in the shape of the international proletariat headed by the Comintern, and their true ally in the shape of the U.S.S.R. In the last war, owing to the treachery of the Second International, the imperialists could ensure themselves a quiet rear, but this time they will have to reckon, not only with the revolutionary proletariat of their own countries, but with the rising masses of the colonies.

We know that during the first imperialist war the Entete exploited "coloured" armies of Indians, Annamites, Negroes, etc., they even drew China into the war, employing Chinese coolies for work in the trenches, whilst Germany drew Turkey into the imperialist slaughter. But now the imperialists are still more zealously implanting their military civilisation in the "barbarous" East and the colonies, for they know very well that this time they will not succeed in exploiting "coloured" armies with impunity. In order to wage war now, it is necessary not only to shatter the proletariat by bribing the social-democratic leaders, to deepen the reaction within their countries, to exploit fascism, etc. but also to ensure the subordination of the colonial slaves, which have now begun to storm the imperialist heaven. The military intervention in the Chinese revolution, the punitive expeditions against the risings in Morocco and Syria, the intensified military defensive powers in India, Indonesia and Burma, the construction of naval ports at Singapore and the Phillipines, the reinforcement of the Japanese troops in Manchuria, the open support provided by the U.S.A. to the internal wars of Latin America (in Nicaragua, Mexico, etc.), all show that whilst striving to suppress the colonial risings with armed force, the imperialists are simultaneously occupying themselves with the creation of military bases on the territory of the colonies. The transference of the economic centre of the world to the U.S.A. and the intensification of the antagonisms between that country and Great Britain, which constitutes the focus of the conflicts between the States of finance capital, add still further impetus to the endeavours of the British, Japanese and American imperialists to consolidate their military and naval strategic points in the Pacific, and it is extremely probable that that ocean will be the centre of the coming war.

The imperialists, who are seeking to ensure a quiet rear in the colonies also, and so far as possible to exploit the backward "coloured" armies as cannon fodder in the war, are of course not confining themselves merely to armed suppression of the colonial risings or to military preparations in strategic points of the East, but are also resorting to systematic bribery of the bourgeois sections in the colonies and semi-colonies. The great Chinese

revolution, which shook the whole of the Asiatic continet, drew millions of peasants under the leadership of the proletariat, and so forced the national bourgeoisie, not only of China itself, but of India and similar economically more developed countries, to turn either to the direct counter-revolutionary road or to a definitely national-reformist position, a position in flagrant opposition to the worker-peasant revolutionary emancipation movement. This affords the imperialists the possibility of still further strengthening their positions in the colonies and semi-colonies, and of increasing their exploitation. Also the imperialists by playing with the phraseology of a liberal policy towards the national bourgeoisie (e.g. the American policy in China) are endeavouring to transform that bourgeoisie into an instrument, not only for the suppression of the revolution in the colonies, but also for the preparation of war.

The imperialists are also intensifying their preparations of this new weapon, the national bourgeoisie, for the purpose of drawing the toiling masses of the colonial and virtually dependent countries from their alliance with the U.S.S.R. It is no accident that after the triumph of the Kuomintang White Terror regime in China, the Swarajist National Assembly of India sent greetings to the Nanking Government. It is also no accident that Wu-Han-Ming followed his visit to London by one to Kemal Pasha, and is now spreading extensive rumours to the effect that the latter warned him against the "U.S.S.R. conspiracy in Chinese Turkestan," and against the "oppression of the Muslem peoples by the Soviet Government inside the U.S.S.R. itself." Britain's support of the reactionary rising in Afghanistan, the increase of British influence in Tibet, the Japanese organisation of the Inner Mongolian princes, all testify to the imperialists' efforts to exploit the reactionary elements of the colonies for the preparation of war against the U.S.S.R. They also testify to their exploitation of the counter-revolutionary and nationalist reformist bourgeoisie of the Eastern countries, who in the name of nationalism are spreading all kinds of legends concerning the U.S.S.R., and are working for the organisation of a so-called "emancipation movement of the oppressed nations independent of Red imperialism."

Finally, the imperialist Powers which, each in its "own" colonies, are inflaming the national and religious distinctions among the native peoples, are in China applying the specific method of preparing for "their war" by carrying on the war for spheres of influence through the Chinese Kuomintang militarists. China is an important object of rivalry between the imperialist Powers, and so far remains formally an independent State. But now the revolution has been suppressed by the White Terror, the Kuomintang militarists, whilst continuing to co-ordinate the merchant capital of the local markets with the semi-feudal agrarian elements, continue as before to divide China into a number of virtually independent countries, which correspond to the partitioning of China into spheres of influence for Japan and Britain. But the U.S.A., which has become the leader of the capitalist world, cannot allow the Chinese market to fall into the hands of Japan and Britain. During the past year the U.S.A. has been very active, striving to subject the Nanking Government to the financial control of America so as to eliminate Japanese and British influence from China. This complicated struggle is going on in a situation in which each of these imperialist Powers has its agent in the shape of one or other of the groups of Kuomintang militarists. Not only are Japan and Britain endeavouring somehow or other to evoke a militarist war in China, with the aid of which they can consolidate their positions and protect or extend their spheres of influence, but America also. Reckoning that neither Japan nor Britain will voluntarily concede their positions, and are both actively working through their militarists, the Sun Yat Senists, the United States is actively assisting the Nanking Government in its war (a triumphant welcome for America is the repeal of the prohibition of imports into China—of arms for the Nanking Government), and is organising its military basis in China (*e.g.*, the U.S.A. agreement with Nanking for the construction of an American aviation point in

Shanghai). It is clear to anyone that all this is leading to a Pacific war. The last Chinese wars—the war between Chang-Kai-Shek and the Kurang-Si-ists, the war between Feng-Hu-Siang and Chang-Kai-Shek—have very clearly shown that they are merely an early rehearsal of the Pacific war.

The struggle against the inevitable imperialist war in the eastern countries is consequently one of the most important tasks of the C.P. Without a strong connection between the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the East there can be no successful struggle against war. In view of what has been said, the task of the Comintern and the C.P.'s of the eastern countries is to conduct systematic work amongst the masses of workers and peasants of the colonies and semi-colonies. This work should be directed towards the international education of the workers and peasants, and towards the revolutionary enlightenment of the soldier masses and its consequent effect upon the imperialist armies and counter-revolutionary native troops. It should aim at demonstrating to the colonial masses the real objects of the war (the conquest and partitioning of colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies), and at exposing the falsity of the pacifism of the imperialists and social-democrats. It should aim at rallying the masses to the support of the Communists for a struggle against the native ruling classes, who are in fact aiding the preparations of the imperialists for an annexational war within the colonies themselves, and who are serving, or will serve, as instruments of the imperialists in the struggle against the U.S.S.R.

The lessons of the great Chinese revolution and the teaching of Marx and Lenin show that support given by the proletariat to the colonial war against the imperialists—wherever the native bourgeoisie of one or another colony is capable of that—by no means involves a renunciation of the class struggle; the proletariat must organise and act independently, putting forward its own political programme. The Communists must prepare the masses for the inevitable treachery of the bourgeoisie. And where the land-owning bourgeois government is already playing a counter-revolutionary role, as in China, the Communists must strive for the overthrow of the government, under the slogan of the revolutionary defence of the country. Our chief slogans against the imperialist war in the colonies must be: the transformation of the imperialist war into a struggle against the capitalists of the home country; the alliance of the class war in the capitalist countries with the popular risings in the colonies; the support of the revolutionary war of the colonies against the imperialists; defence of the U.S.S.R.; a closer alliance with the U.S.S.R. against the national bourgeoisie, which has become a weapon in the hands of the imperialists in the struggle against the U.S.S.R.; the recall of the imperialist armies and fleets from the colonies; against the imperialist war preparations on the colonial territories; against the imperialists' provision of loans to the counter-revolutionary governments and militarists in the colonies. Naturally all these slogans need to be given a definite application for each country. For instance, in China the question of military wars, which lead to the constant spoliation of the masses and a strengthening of the positions of the imperialists, and are, in fact, wars between the imperialists struggling for influence in China, has special emphasis. These Chinese militarist wars are closely bound up with the imperialists' preparations for their war. Here we have to put forward as one of the central slogans that of transferring the militarist wars into a civil class war of the workers, peasants and soldiers against the Kuomintang militarists and landowners and bourgeoisie.

The first imperialist war of 1914 to 1918 was in a number of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe transformed into a civil war, which in Russia brought victory to the proletariat. But now, on the eve of the new war, we have not merely a Sun Yat Sen, Kemalist, Gandhist and Swarajist East, each of which is capable of only going halfway in the struggle against the imperialists, each of which will rather betray the international proletariat in its struggle against the imperialists than support it to the end. No, we now also have another East. The East of the awakening coolies, toiling peasants and working class, the

East of the revolutionary masses, which after the great Chinese revolution are now throwing up their new leader in the form of the proletariat—that East is preparing, under the leadership of the Communist International, for the genuine overthrow of the imperialist hegemony. The struggle against the imperialist war will be a genuine world struggle, a struggle of the international proletariat jointly with the toiling masses of the East, and of all colonies and semi-colonies against the international bourgeoisie.

The Working Youth and the Red Day

M. Gorkitch

THE struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the toiling youth is most intense in the preparations for new imperialist wars.

The bourgeoisie of all countries are striving hard to draw the toiling youth into the ideological and technical preparations for new wars. In every country a complete system of mass military, semi-military, and militarist sports organisations of youth is being set up. In certain countries these organisations embrace hundreds of thousands of young workers. In a number of countries the bourgeoisie is applying the experience of America and is setting up military holiday camps. These camps, which are organised on a voluntary basis, cater for young workers who wish to spend their holidays without incurring a large financial expenditure. Any young worker can get there on condition that he is subject to the regime in the camps and undergoes the military and political training there provided. In addition to the study of military science; games, excursions, sports, recreations, etc., are organised. These camps are directed by reactionary officers. In America every member of the camp not only gets free maintenance, but also receives a number of other "privileges": a single free railway ticket, for instance, or the right to be taken on first at any job, and so on. This system of camps is developing very rapidly, and it is an important weapon of the bourgeoisie in the work of winning the worker youth to its side and in drawing that youth into preparation for new wars. The political teaching in these camps consists, on the one hand, in explaining the "danger of bolshevism," and the worthlessness and anti-State nature of the Young Communist organisations, and, on the other, of the development of patriotic feelings.

The military preparation of the youth also plays a very large part in the work of preparation for new wars. This is carried on in all countries, and leading bourgeois war specialists attach great importance to this pre-war preparation of the youth. The German general, Seeckt, declared recently that the ideological preparation of the youth under the direction of the State is more important for the coming war than is its technical preparation. In the coming war it is not the strength of arms that will decide, but the mental equipment. Consequently the bourgeoisie are striving not only technically but politically to prepare the young generation of toilers for the war.

The revolutionary youth were always in the foremost ranks in the struggle against imperialist wars. The traditions of Liebknecht are very strong in the ranks of the international movement of the Communist Youth.

In the preparation for and carrying out of the International Day Against War the Young Communist League should and will play a great part.

The celebration of the Red Day will undoubtedly meet with the strong opposition of the ruling classes. May Day, 1929, demonstrated that in a number of countries, the Communists celebrated May Day this year not only as an ordinary forty-year-old proletarian holiday. This year it was a preparation and militant rehearsal for the celebration of the International Red Day. This circumstance is of very great importance in the determination of the tasks and role of the Young Communist League and the worker youth in the celebration of the Red Day.

There is not the least doubt that the bourgeoisie will endeavour to interfere with the celebration of the International Red Day. The First of May revealed that at a glance. Of course, the ruling class will preliminarily mobilise all its forces and organs. The bought Press will clamour from day to day that on August 1st the Communists are preparing an international armed rising, and similar nonsense.

Owing to this mobilisation of the bourgeois forces, and in full accordance with the tasks of the struggle against the danger of imperialist war, the celebration of the Red Day will partake of a militant nature. The struggle against war cannot be waged with the gloves on. The conquest of the streets cannot be achieved without expense. To carry on a serious struggle against war means that we have to be ready for sacrifices. The struggle against war is a class struggle. And a war without costs, without victims, without a succession of attacks, retreats, etc., without partial defeats, and without losses, has never occurred yet.

For all these reasons, the role and tasks of youth, which has always been in the foremost militant ranks, are very large and highly responsible in this task of celebrating the Red Day.

The streets will have to be won step by step. Organised, mass demonstrations will need to be carried out, despite—or, even better, in opposition to—all the interdictions and the mobilisation of the bourgeois forces. Here also the youth must be in the front rank.

To think that the mobilisation of the bourgeois forces can render impossible the organised mass demonstrations is criminal, from the Communist point of view. For in time of war the bourgeoisie mobilises still greater forces against the entire revolutionary movement. And how shall we lead the masses into struggle at the time of war if we now consider that the bourgeoisie can prevent the celebration of the Red Day?

The experience of a number of youth demonstrations, carried out despite prohibitions, and despite the maximum mobilisation of the bourgeois forces, shows that the Red Day can and must be celebrated despite all the obstacles. Not only the Social-Democrats, but even the pacifists and the Tolstoyans, can peacefully "demonstrate" against war with the consent of the bourgeoisie. The crux of the matter is just that our demonstrations must be carried out without asking the permission of the bourgeoisie, and in struggle against the bourgeoisie.

It has to be remembered that the success of the Red Day depends, not on the bourgeoisie, but on the working class, on the extent to which we achieve a maximum mobilisation of all our forces, so as to draw the greatest sections of the workers into the celebration of the Red Day. The bourgeoisie can prepare as much as it likes, but if our preparations are thorough, the celebration of the Red Day is ensured.

We will give just two examples.

In 1916, at the very height of the world war, when the Kaiser bourgeoisie was at its strongest, the leader and founder of the Communist Youth movement, Karl Liebknecht, succeeded in carrying through an illegal, mass anti-war demonstration in the Potsdam Square in Berlin.

On April 30th, 1929, at the moment of the maximum mobilisation of all the forces of Zoergiebel's police hounds, the Berlin Young Communist organisation halted a mighty movement in that same square, organised an illegal demonstration and a ten-minutes' meeting. Within five minutes, six hundred Young Communists and workers had poured out of all the streets and occupied the Potsdam Square, holding a demonstration there.

We do not refer to the innumerable examples of illegal mass demonstrations and meetings carried out by the Young Com-

munist League in the countries dominated by the White Terror.

The Young Communist International's experience of the last few years shows that not one campaign and demonstration organised by the Young Communist League has been successful when it has not been adequately prepared. In preparing for the celebration of the Red Day, we must take this circumstance into account; only if we mobilise all our forces to carry out this great task, if every fraction, every organisation and every committee for carrying out the Red Day, previously studies and prepares for it, if every Young Communist knows what he has to do before that day and on that day, and if we succeed during that campaign in drawing the great masses of toiling youth into the celebration, only then shall we be able to count on success in celebrating the Red Day.

Every Y.C.L. must exploit the campaigns for the Anti-Imperialist Youth Congress, the Socialist Youth Day in Vienna, the preparations for the International Youth Day and the Tenth Anniversary of the Young Communist International, in the task of preparing for the Red Day. All these campaigns must be adapted and connected with the preparation and celebration of the Red Day.

The Red Day is not a one-day campaign. It must be merely an episode in the continual struggle of the working class against the coming imperialist wars. The struggle against war must be carried on daily, unbrokenly, both before and after the Red Day; and every movement of the working class, even the smallest, must be exploited to this end, must be directed into the channel of this struggle. The Red Day must provide a mighty impetus in the task of extensively mobilising the masses in the struggle against imperialist wars, and especially against the preparations for war on the U.S.S.R.

The toiling youth is interested in this struggle more than anyone else. They are the prey which will go to feed innumerable rifles and guns.

The basic task of all the Young Communist Leagues during the coming months is to draw the widest sections of the toiling youth into the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist struggle, and in particular into the preparation for and the celebration of the Red Day.

Social Fascism and the War Danger

Karl Kreibich

ONE of the most important preparations being made by international capitalism for the coming war is indicated in the development of reformism from social patriotism to social imperialism, and from "democratic pacifism" to social fascism. This change is in accordance with the requirements of imperialism in its present stage. The experience of the world war exposed the swindle of "defence of the fatherland" so completely that in the event of war it could no longer serve as an adequate incentive. Moreover, the imperialist character of the present contradictions between capitalist States and the counter-revolutionary character of the war being prepared against the Soviet Union is far too obvious. Social Democracy, therefore, if it is to fulfil its task of teaching and organising the workers to be the reserve troops of imperialism, must spread imperialist and counter-revolutionary ideas among the working class. The next imperialist war will, in comparison with that of 1914, be different in this respect, that it will meet with the resistance of really revolutionary parties, the sections of the Communist International, which will consciously and resolutely oppose it, and which will be followed by large numbers of workers. The establishment of well-trained mass imperialist organisations, besides the usual State powers, will be necessary to crush that resistance. That is why fascism and social fascism are a vital necessity for the capitalist system.

Fascism and social democracy are the bourgeoisie's two most important fortresses in its fight against the revolutionary proletariat and its allied sections of the petty bourgeoisie. When this idea was first formulated on the Communist side, there seemed something contradictory between these two auxiliary powers of the bourgeoisie, and it was believed that they would be utilised only temporarily, and as the occasion demanded. This attitude could be maintained only so long as Social Democracy could be regarded, in spite of its reformism and its partiality for coalition, as a democratic workers' party which aimed at winning the masses away from the revolutionary class struggle with the help of pseudo-Marxist phraseology, and at maintaining bourgeois society behind the mask of democracy. But this democratic varnish was rubbed off long ago. Even the Austro-Marxists have nowadays given up decorating their bourgeois policy with Marxist phraseology; Social Democracy is, with growing frankness, taking the lead in all measures of violence directed against the revolutionary proletariat, and its pacifism has been replaced by open participation in the political preparations for war and in the piling up of armaments. In ideology and in practical politics, Social Democracy and fascism are exposing the identity of their foundations, an identity which consists mainly in the alliance with large-scale capital and in the leaders of their trade union and political organisations becoming an integral part of capitalist economic organisation and the capitalist State machine.

Italian fascism developed at a time when the use of anti-capitalist phrases served as a method of winning the masses. After its seizure of power it established unity among the banks, industry and landlordism, and its regime became the expression of the political domination of large-scale capital. German Social Democracy propounded the theory of super-imperialism at the Kiel Congress, a theory which is nothing but an explanation for the workers of the ideological basis of its close connection with capitalism, and a method of winning the masses for imperialist policy, particularly from the standpoint of the coming war. While fascism openly rejects class struggle and admits only "community of interests," Social Democracy is more astute, and theoretically admits class contradictions and even the class struggle, while it emphasises a community of interests superior to classes, and theoretically and practically rejects the class struggle in any situation when its support might endanger bourgeois society. No

other meaning can be attached to the theory produced with so much labour by the Austro-Marxists to explain their coalition with the bourgeoisie, the theory of the necessity of coalition in a period of the "balance of class forces"—that is, when a revolutionary crisis is developing, when the bourgeoisie is weakened and the power of the proletariat has become so great that it equals that of the bourgeoisie, and threatens to overthrow it. This coalition theory, of course, includes a coalition policy in war time.

The economic democracy preached by the Social Democrats is an offspring of the Co-operative State preached by the fascists. Towards the end of 1927, Deschamps, the spokesman of Belgian heavy industry, pointed out in the *Twentieth Century* that the industrial peace preached by Mond and welcomed by the British trade union leaders is the same as Mussolini's Co-operative State. Social Democrats everywhere are hard at work establishing bodies to carry out co-operation between capital and labour and to promote the identity of workers' with capitalist organisations. All these bodies are governed by one idea : that of the role of the State, which, in any circumstances, stands over and above all classes. Apart from fascist Italy, the arbitration system in Germany is the clearest expression of this policy.

The organisational characteristic of fascism in its political aspect is the creation of semi-militarist mass organisations, whose task is the forcible establishment of a fascist regime and the suppression of working-class resistance. Social Democracy has made great progress in this direction in some countries. The most important of these organisations is the *Reichsbanner,* in Germany, which reflects Social Democracy's alliance with political clericalism and bourgeois democracy, and which is financially supported by Hörsing, the Social-Democratic leader of the *Reichsbanner,* and a wealthy capitalist. No instance has occurred when the *Reichsbanner* engaged in any serious struggle against the mass organisations of bourgeois fascism. On the other hand, it has always shown itself a reliable fighter against the Communists and the Red Front Fighters. There have been innumerable instances when the Steel Helmets and the *Reichsbanner*—when, that is, the opponents and the defenders of the Weimar constitution—have co-operated closely and worked together on various bodies. Nor has the republican *Schutzbund* in Austria ever opposed the fascist *Heimwehr,* but it has issued orders attacking the Communists. Demonstrations of the fascist *Heimwehr* were protected by the *Schutzbund,* together with the police, against the attacks of the embittered workers. *Heimwehr* and *Schutzbund* are, in all such matters, not opposed, but friendly to each other, and have their own special agreements. In Poland the fighting organisations of the Socialist Party work hand-in-hand with the police and Pilsudski's fascist creatures against the revolutionary workers. The bloodshed in Warsaw on May 1st, 1928, is still fresh in the memory.

Besides their efforts to create mass social fascist organisations, the Social Democrats are also particularly diligent in cleansing the workers' sports organisations of Communists. What value these organisations have for the Social Democrats was shown by the Lettish demonstrations on May 1st, when the social fascist members of the workers' sports organisation, assisted the police of the White-Guard Government in their attacks on Communist workers. In Czecho-Slovakia, in 1919, the Social Democrats sent the great Czech Workers' Athletic League with the bourgeois athletic organisations to fight against the Hungarian Soviet Republic, an event which helped to bring about the split. At the present moment the German Social Democrats in Czecho-Slovakia are bringing about a split in the German Workers' Athletic League in their efforts to get rid of the Communist members. In 1927 the Czecho-Slovakian Workers' Olympiad was improperly used by the Social Democratic leaders in order to make the worker athletes appear as patriotic troops in a parade before President Masaryk and representatives of the French military mission. In Germany, the Social Democrats in the workers' sports organisations are zealously spreading the spirit of "the community of the people" and of hostility to Bolshevism. Working-class and bourgeois sports organisations have organisational contact and work together in supporting class peace and opposing the Communists. The importance of these organisations, particularly

in preparation for war, makes this fact one of great significance.

The ideological relationship of social fascism and bourgeois fascism is obvious, both where fascism is in process of becoming, and where it actually is the ruler, as well as in day-to-day affairs. The hostility between the two to-day involves no difference of principle, but is just the usual competition between all parties working within the limits of bourgeois society. Both are an indispensable part of bourgeois society and of its State, and both pursue the same aims: the maintenance of bourgeois society, and its protection against the revolutionary working masses led by the Communist Party. The chief argument brought forward by social fascism against bourgeois fascism is that it—social fascism—offers better protection against the proletarian revolution than bourgeois fascism. The social fascists are, of course, referring to the great services they rendered to bourgeois society when it was threatened with immediate and serious danger after the war. "Where were you then?" they cry to the bourgeois fascists; "in those days, we alone saved bourgeois society from destruction." Julius Deutsch, leader of the defence organisation of Austrian social fascism, expressed this thought very clearly at the congress of the Upper Austrian Social-Democratic Party, held at Linz in March of this year. The following quotation from the report of his speech is taken from the Social-Democratic Party newspaper:—

"The speaker then referred to the danger of a Left dictatorship in 1919 and 1920. At that time, real danger threatened democracy, and it was the Social Democrats who opposed the establishment of a dictatorship. The Social-Democrats resisted any dictatorial experiment, because they are truly democratic in their outlook. No *Heimwehr* was necessary at that time. The Social-Democratic Party was quite capable of protecting democracy."

All the efforts of social fascism are, therefore, directed to convincing the bourgeoisie that its own fascism is superfluous, that the social fascists can deal with Communism just as well if not better, and that in fact bourgeois fascism increases the Communist danger, while "democracy" is a better form of capitalist stabilisation and the consolidation of bourgeois society, and therefore offers greater protection against the proletarian dictatorship, against Bolshevism. Of course, the Social-Democrats realise quite clearly that this barrier will not be one of "pure democracy," but a democracy in which the labour aristocracy and the leaders of their trade union and political organisations will work together with, and become part of, capitalist industry and the bourgeois State machine, including the church, while the great mass of the workers will be suppressed by the moral and material weapons of this "Co-operative State." What was once understood by "pure democracy" has long been consigned to the lumber-room of history, and Social Democratic leaders have recognised that only a harsh power exercising violence can save bourgeois society from destruction by the proletarian revolution. This historical necessity is the basis of bourgeois fascism, and its recognition by the Social-Democratic leaders is the basis of social fascism. Consequently, social fascism, in the period of war danger and of the development of decisive revolutionary struggles, is the only form in which Social Democracy can play its part as a bourgeois labour party, as the defender of bourgeois society. Its social imperialism was the necessary result of its social patriotism, and social fascism is the necessary result of the desertion from "pure democracy" which occurred in face of the danger of approaching proletarian revolution. In the last analysis, social fascism is a synthesis of fascism and that democracy which the Social Democratic leaders have long had in mind. It is that variety of fascism which is anxious to win over, that is, to corrupt, those sections of the working class which are necessary for the establishment and maintenance of a capitalist dictatorship in the more advanced capitalist countries. The final form of this synthesis will be decided by the capitalists themselves, who will not use fascism, and Social-Democracy, as different and alternative refuges, but will make use of both, or of a combination of both, to carry on the final and decisive struggle against the proletariat.

The social fascists are, of course, also anxious to prove to the bourgeoisie in their practical policy that they are more reliable and better fighters against the revolutionary proletariat than the bourgeois fascists. At the pre-

sent time the Social-Democrats surpass all bourgeois parties and papers in their virulent campaigns against the Communists, against Bolshevism, against the Soviet Union. Their passionate hatred of the Soviet Union is one of the most important factors in the imperialists' preparations for war on the Soviet Union. The recent events in Germany showed how anxious the social fascists are to demonstrate, in deeds as well as in words, their usefulness and their indispensability to the bourgeoisie. What we witnessed in these preliminary skirmishes of the fury of social fascists in suppressing the Communist movement, gives us some idea of what we may expect from them in the coming greater revolutionary struggles, particularly in the event of war. All the weapons of bourgeois society will be discharged against the revolutionary proletariat by the alliance of bourgeois and social fascism. That is why the fight against war must also be conducted as a fight against social fascism, as a fight against Social Democracy.

Experience in Organising Demonstrations

An Estimate of the Situation

Leninist

THE events which occurred on May Day in a number of countries, and particularly in Germany, witness to the fact that the methods of shooting down the workers as practised by the social-democrats, Noske, Ebert, and Morachevski have once more been revived. But this time these shootings are carried out on the basis of a previously drawn up strategic plan. Social-democracy, which saved the bourgeoisie during the severe revolutionary crisis of 1918-19, is preparing for its second salvation, by applying the methods of bloody suppression even before the revolutionary crisis has matured; even on the threshhold of a new wave of revolutionary movement. Social-democracy, which has taken the road of fusion with the bourgeois State, has now openly joined the camp of the bourgeoisie: it calls for a struggle with the revolutionary workers in the factories, and betrays them to the employers, betraying every strike movenent, betraying the workers in Lodz, the Ruhr, etc., struggling against even the possibility of revolutionary opposition, it refuses to demonstrate on May Day, and planned jointly with the police to pour out the blood of hundreds of workers, in depriving the working class of the right to hold that demonstration (May, 1928, in Poland, May, 1929, in Poland, France, and Germany). Thus there is an essential difference between the acts of Social-Democracy ten years ago and to-day: the attack on the workers this time was planned and organised.

But whilst the May-Day events reflect the new features—the fascist features of the treacherous social-democracy—the same events show that the working class, also, in the chief political and industrial centres of a number of countries, have realised this change and estimated it correctly. These workers have realised that the sole revolutionary Party, the sole advance-guard of the proletariat in its struggle for emancipation, is the Communist Party, is the Communist International. That advance-guard has stood steadfast at the head of all the revolutionary battles of the past few years; pouring out blood and imprisoned in thousands, they have constantly directed every struggle of the working class: beginning with the struggle at the factories against the employers, in the countryside against the land-

owners, in the barracks against the officers and their sergeant-majors, and ending with demonstrations, strikes, and barricade battles.

These workers have realised that any, even the lowest form of class struggle during the present (third) period of the post-war crisis of capitalism, confronts the workers with the problem of the revolutionary struggle for power.

The workers and their advance-guard have at least learnt by experience that, having decided upon any form of struggle whatever, whether demonstrations, meetings, or even a meeting at one factory, it is necessary to prepare for it in every respect. It is not enough to study the situation, to estimate one's own forces and those of the enemy; it is necessary also to prepare organisationally and tactically not only for a successful struggle with an open enemy, but, remembering that at present that enemy is not isolated, that he still has his contacts among us, among the workers, and they are exploited for the purpose of manoeuvring; for a blow in the back; as happened during the incidents of the last May Day.

The bourgeois press, and the social-democratic press even more, are endeavouring to show that the Communist Parties "on Moscow's instructions" wanted to force an armed rising on the workers on May Day. There is nothing more stupid than this accusation, by means of which the bourgeois scribblers and their social lackeys are seeking to justify their own crime against the working class, seeking to legalise the bloodshed, murder and spoliation. They are trying to hide from the working class the fact of a revolutionary rise, a leftward movement of the masses, a growth of activity, guaranteeing a worthy resistance to the imminent attack of capital in its intention of attempting to worsen the already miserable conditions of the working class. They want to represent the growing revolutionary activity of the masses as a trick of the "agents of Moscow." The Communists do not renounce the slogan of armed rising—on the contrary, they say that only by way of an armed rising will the workers be able to win power and settle with the bourgeoisie once for all, settling also the exploitation of class by class. But the Communists declare, that he who attempts to force an armed rising on the workers in unfavourable conditions; in conditions other than a direct revolutionary situation; is an enemy of the working class. We all know that when the Communists called for support to the May Day demonstration they did not raise the slogan of armed rising in any country whatever. That slogan was raised by those who desired a bloody settling of accounts with the working class, who needed to kill the activity of that class, who are striving literally to exterminate the advance-guard of the working class—the Communist Party.

THE POLICE METHODS.

It was under Noske's facile guidance, in 1918-19, that the German police first began to study in theory and in practice how to shoot down the workers. The history of the civil war in Germany presents a series of classic types of aggressive action on the part of the police against the revolutionary workers with a view to their physical extermination. On this question of how to shoot down the workers, a complete literature has been written, which has been translated into other languages and its teachings applied in other countries. Unfortunately that literature has not been adequately studied by the broad masses of workers, and is even unknown to the active workers of the Communist Parties, which have the direct charge of the leadership in the day-to-day class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its machinery of compulsion. The turn that that struggle can take at any moment, even on the basis of its lowest form, has been shown by the recent events of May Day. Consequently it is to the purpose to remind parties of the necessity of acquainting themselves with the contents of this literature, and in detail, at that, for only by having a thorough knowledge of one's opponent and his tactics can one successfully struggle against and defeat him.

We shall endeavour briefly to review the methods applied by the police in the May Day incidents, seeking to ascertain their essential features and also how far they are really dangerous to the revolutionary workers.

The chief feature of these methods is that the police base their tactics on the tactics of

the rising itself, on the experience of the civil war, adapting themselves to its forms, which differ according to periods. Hence the conclusion, that we also must study in more detail the experience of past struggles, discovering their weak spots and emphasising their strong points.

The police use tactics which correspond to the particular degree of intensity reached in the class struggle. Thus, for example, assuming that mounted and unmounted police are thought sufficient to deal with an unarmed demonstration, at the least sign of resistance the police resort to the higher measures—to firing on the demonstrators, to the tactic of attack and the persecution of isolated groups of demonstrators, or even single persons. Having thus gained the initiative, they either suppress the particular movement in the particular form it has taken, or force the workers in their turn to resort to a still higher form of struggle. As a logical consequence of this course of development, we get what happened in Berlin, Paris, Warsaw, Kovno, and other towns, on May Day. Wherever the workers could not develop a new form of struggle, either owing to their inadequate revolutionary activity, or owing to an inadequate preparation in organisational and technical regards, the frontal attack of the police with the application of firearms in order to break up the demonstration was at once crowned with success. But in Berlin, the workers, who are at a higher stage of development in the experience of civil war, passed to the next step, that of arming themselves for battle, and the use of the strike weapon. At this point quantity passed into quality, and we had all the signs of the beginning of an armed rising, although a directly revolutionary situation previous to, and for this rising, was not present. Then the police resorted to their favourite methods of struggle, exploited in 1918-19, 1921, 1923, and so carefully expounded in the book : they resorted to the tactics of street battles : the encirclement and isolation of separate districts, the action of parallel columns for the purpose of storming and barricading sections, and so on. On the ground of this feverishly swift transference from one form of struggle to another (from truncheons to firearms, from the action of individual patrols to the action of armed detachments in lorries, and so on), one can see that the Berlin police do not know how to struggle on the lower stages, in immediate contact with the working masses, in whose presence they experience a paralysing fear and numbness, and so far as they are still able to struggle successfully, it is only at firing distance. This once more proves that the spectre of the coming proletarian revolution is knocking at the gate of the fortress of German capitalism, just as in the days of Tsarist Russia, when entire regiments of Cossacks were sent against the demonstrations of unarmed workers, when Tsarism mobilised infantry and artillery against revolutionaries besieged in a single house.

What tactics were employed against the workers' demonstrations by the police of other countries? It is not without interest to note the different methods of the police in Paris and Warsaw, as applied to demonstrators under differing circumstances; although the police of both countries are acquainted with the German methods, as is evident from the recently published "Plan Z" in France and the book by S. Ronetski in Poland.

The basis of the police struggle against the demonstrators lies in the anticipation of that struggle. To this end the police customarily arrest the outstanding active members of the working class and the C.P. before the beginning of the demonstrations, even several days before. If it were in the power of the police machinery to do so, they would arrest all the workers beforehand so as to prevent the demonstration. But as that is impossible, they confine themselves to the arrest of the more prominent workers. None the less, it has to be remarked that this time the police in Poland made quite considerable arrests : about two thousand workers were arrested. This measure gave the police, as it thought, an adequate guarantee that the demonstration would not take place, or, if it did take place, that it would be deprived of its backbone, and it would consequently be easy to deal with it. But the police were out in their reckonings : the demonstrations in Warsaw (5,000), in Lodz (15,000), and the Dombrova coal region were held none the less. Only with the aid of horse and foot police and the adoption of firearms were they able to disperse the demon-

strations which had assembled in the centres of the towns. Thus, in Poland, a combined method of struggle against the demonstrations was applied : the preliminary arrest on a mass scale several days before the demonstration, and a frontal attack upon the demonstration in the centre of the town (the method of suppression).

But while such methods are possible in Fascist Poland, they are still "unseemly" in "constitutional" France; despite the recent revelations concerning the " Plan Z," which threw light on the coming methods of war against the revolution, the bourgeoisie did not have the courage either to carry out mass arrests before May Day or to adopt the decision to shatter the demonstration after its assembly in the centre of the town. The first method would have evoked a great protest from all the working class, and the second was risky. The Minister for Home Affairs chose another tactic : that of preventing the main demonstration and applying suppression methods to the outskirts. He concentrated about 70 per cent. of the country police in Paris (over 30,000), and distributing them over the districts where the workers would assemble, he arrested the most active workers (about 3,500). By this resolute measure he achieved success, inasmuch as the Paris revolutionary workers, being deprived of their leadership and suppressed by the numerous forces of the police, could not decide to carry out the demonstration.

THE TASKS OF THE ADVANCE-GUARD.

The majority of the May Day demonstrations show that the proletariat is not satisfied with the ordinary protests against the police prohibitions, that even when deprived of their leaders as the result of arrests (Poland), they demonstrate their will to struggle in the organisation of the demonstration, during the course of which they put up a resistance (in Warsaw and Lodz there were dozens of wounded and killed), that in the event of an armed attack by the police (Berlin), they take arms into their hands, construct barricades, strike, or turn towards armed rising. But this growth of activity among the working class is not equalled by a corresponding organisational and technical preparation of the advance-guard, which consequently is not in a condition to direct the stern class struggle in the conditions of a constantly changing circumstance, in such fashion as not to lose the initiative; and by anticipating the police and other organs of bourgeois repression to ensure to itself a timely transfer from the lower forms to the higher forms of struggle. Nor is it a condition to mobilise all its forces and to co-ordinate a number of tactical methods corresponding to these forces and the actual form of the struggle.

The defects are of four kinds: (1) In regard to the political disclosure and estimation of the opponent's weak spots; (2) In regard to the political and organisational preparation of the workers, and their estimation of the most important points of resistance (the main spheres of industry, the large-scale enterprises, etc.); (3) In regard to the disintegration of the opponent's machinery of compulsion and its appendages (Reichsbanner, Strzeletz, etc.); (4) In regard to their own tactics and the study of the methods of struggle of the opponent.

On the first defect, we do not adequately unmask the social-democrats; we inadequately show their fascist character, we insufficiently study their role as the guiding rein of bourgeois rationalisation and reconstruction. But we shall not stop to consider this question in detail.

On the second defect, we have not yet solved the problem of creating workers' self-defence. That slogan was raised by the C.P. of Poland in 1928, after the May Days, and it is being tested at the present time by the C.P. of Germany. But nothing has been done in this direction. Possibly that slogan appeared to be superfluous in Germany, where the Party was legal and there was in existence a mass workers' organisation in the form of the Red Front Fighters. But as the recent events have shown, it is a vital issue. But the creation of workers' self-defence is not all : it is necessary to win influence in the large factories in the main spheres of economy (transport, heavy industry, etc.). This is a problem of mobilising the main strata of the working class.

On the question of the disintegration of the opponents' machinery of compulsion, and its

fascist organisations, the work of the C.P. is not sufficiently definite. In a number of countries, the struggle for the army is not carried on adequately. Nowhere did the May Day incidents reveal results in this sphere? Are only the workers bound to demonstrate on August 1st? Should not the soldiers of the bourgeois armies also add their voices to the protest against war? Meantime, even in France, where we frequently hear of reservists demonstrating by singing the "Internationale," we have not observed a single instance of a joint demonstration of soldiers and workers, we have observed no joint meetings whatever.

As for the last item, we must study the opponent's tactics not only for the purpose of the struggle against him when that opportunity presents itself. We need to study his tactics constantly for the purpose of its day-to-day disclosure to the workers, remembering that not every word we utter will be heard and understood immediately. We must remember that the opponent is forging weapons and maintaining his army and police, and is training them not only against the internal enemy, but also for the purpose of war, and for war on the U.S.S.R. first and foremost. All war preparations demand disclosure, so that the moment of the beginning of the war should not find the workers in confusion. We can never unmask the opponent too much!

Red Day in Poland

L. Gurman

IN view of the continually increasing military preparations of the capitalist States and the growing menace of war, the mobilisation of the working class, the vast peasant masses and the oppressed peoples for the struggle against the war danger is at the present time the chief task of the Party. Especially in Poland, where the Fascist Dictatorship represents a naked and direct weapon of the possessing classes for the preparation of war, where the policy of the Fascist Dictatorship is directed towards a frenzied preparation for an imperialist war on the U.S.S.R.; must our Party intensify its efforts tenfold in order to inculcate the war danger into the consciousness of the masses, to unmask the real incendiaries and organisers of the new war adventure, to mobilise the masses around the slogans of struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship and its agents, and to organise the masses for the struggle against war. In Poland, against the background of an unprecedented intensification of the class antagonism in connnection with the economic and political crisis in fascism, a regimental government has arisen which is the expression of the aggressiveness of the regime of Fascist Dictatorship, especially in regard to war; and the open and secret military preparations of the possessing classes have been increased as the result. We can see their increased diplomatic activity in the Balkan and Baltic countries, Zalesski's visit to Budapest, Kviatkovski's visit to Bucharest; there is Pilsudsky's proposed further visit to Roumania, the attempt to extend the Polish-Roumanian military alliance under the patronage of the Great Powers, there are the continual visits and travels to Poland of British, French, and Roumanian officers, the increased supervision of the French staff, whose interests are passionately defended by the well-known militarist, General Lerond, and in addition to all this there are the increases in the War Budget, the swifter tempo in the construction of armaments, the construction of strategic high roads and railways in Western White Russia and in the Western Ukraine, the expansion of war industry, and the military preparation of the population. And this all confirms that the Fascist Dictatorship is fixing an early date for the beginning of their military adventure.

These intentions are also testified to by the efforts of Polish fascism to attack and annex Lithuania, in which they are actively assisted by the Lithuanian social-fascists with the Plechkaitis group at their head, which under the pretext of an active struggle against the dictatorship of Valdemaras is preparing the ground for an armed intervention by Fascist Poland. In the fascists' frantic war preparations they derive most active assistance from the social-fascist parties, with the Polish Socialist Party at their head, which, by resorting to pacifist phraseology and slander of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, are seeking to divert the attention of the masses.

The intensified preparations for war by the possessing classes, coincide with a period of obvious worsening in the general economic situation in Poland. During the past six months this has found expression not only in the growth of general economic difficulties, but also in manifestations of an increasing crisis in all economy, in a severe currency and industrial crisis.

The working class and the masses of peasantry have felt the results of fascism's rapacious policy in an increase in the cost of living, a rationalisation attack on the workers, a lowering of wages, a severe increase in unemployment (in one week the manufacturers threatened to discharge 50,000 textile workers in Lodz), the extraction of taxes; the fascist agrarian policy directed against the poor and middle masses of the peasantry and in favour of the landowners and kulaks, and so on.

Against this background of increasing war preparations, the accentuating elements of the economic crisis, an intensifying exploitation,

we have in process an accelerating leftward movement of the working class and the peasant masses; the revolutionary activity of the masses is increasing, and they are beginning an open struggle with the Fascist Dictatorship. During the past six months this process has gone on at a sharp tempo, and has led to a number of demonstrations of both worker and peasant masses, who often, quite spontaneously, even without the leadership of the party, begin to struggle against the Fascist Government. They refuse to be subjected to the illusions of the fascist and social-fascist phraseology, they will not retreat before the whips and bullets of the fascist police. The accumulated revolutionary energy of the masses is frequently demonstrated in unexpected violent revolutionary outbreaks; the strength and protracted nature of those outbreaks, which the Party, only too often, is unable to exploit and organise; all witness to the growing determination of the masses for the struggle. Even since the general strike of the Lodz textile workers, which was a splendid confirmation of the fact that the working class was passing to the counter-attack, there have been a number of strikes and demonstrations on the part of the workers, showing an extension of the leftward movement of the masses on the basis of the decaying capitalist stabilisation. At the Vidzevski Works, at Lodz, over five thousand textile workers have carried on a ruthless struggle for three and a half months against the attempts to lower their wages and worsen their conditions of labour. The working masses which formerly were subject to the influence of the social traitors of the P.P.S. and its trade union organisations, are openly demonstrating in defence of the slogans of the Communist Party, welcome the Communist Deputies with enthusiasm, and choose a strike committee which acts in the spirit of the revolutionary interests of the workers. The slogans of struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship and of defence of the U.S.S.R. are the most popular slogans with which the workers on the streets of Lodz greet the representatives of the possessing classes and the Government. The news that monetary help has been sent by the textile workers of the Soviet Union rouses the struggling masses to exultation, and, despite all the united efforts of social-fascism and the Government, the masses of textile workers not only decide to accept the fraternal help thus offered, but also pass a resolution in which they declare their solidarity with the great revolutionary work of the Soviet proletariat. Street demonstrations under Communist slogans, fights with the police and the strike-breakers, the seizure and break-up by the struggling masses of the buildings belonging to the social-fascist unions, constitute a continuation of the splendid struggle which was carried on for some weeks by the 160,000 Lodz textile workers under the direction of the Communist Party.

The fascist terror, and the unstable capitalist stabilisation maintained by the increasing exploitation of the working class, are arousing among the masses a desire for struggle, and this finds expression in the demonstrations of sympathy for every manifestation of revolt and of struggle against Capital and the Fascist Dictatorships. The murder of Albert Kohn, the director of the Vidzevski Works, by the discharged foreman Tsesinsky, disturbed the Lodz workers, and when Tsesinsky, who was mortally wounded, died of his wounds, the workers spontaneously demonstrated at his grave, collections were organised on behalf of his family at the factories, which in one factory alone realised several thousand zloties, and, despite the police terror, demonstrative processions to the cemetery were organised. The Party endeavoured to give this spontaneous movement a political content and to transform it into a demonstration against the Fascist Dictatorship. In Warsaw a struggle of 1,500 workers has been in progress for over four months at a spinning factory, despite the social-traitors and the efforts of the fascists. The strike, which broke out without any preparation or leadership from the Party, was given a revolutionary leadership after the lapse of a week, the leaders being elected in preference to the former social-fascist leaders. Not only in Warsaw and Lodz, but throughout the whole of the country, the revolutionary mood is growing, being directed against the attack of capitalist rationalisation, against the rise in the cost of living, the continual worsening of the existence standards of the working class, and

against the Fascist Dictatorship. This finds expression in a series of local strikes, sometimes very stubborn and protracted in character, as, for instance, the strike of the matchmakers in Pinsk (twelve weeks), of the bakers in Bialostock (six weeks), the millers in Grodno (ten weeks), and also in a number of strikes showing the growing hostility of the masses to Fascism, as, for instance, the strike at the Obremsky factory in Warsaw against a foreman, the tramway workers' strike in Upper Silesia, the strike in Milevitsa (Dombrova area), the railway workers' strike in Lvov, and so on.

The growing revolutionary ferment of the peasant masses finds its expression in a number of demonstrations and armed clashes between the peasantry and the police and military; these struggles are directed against the fascist policy in the rural areas; and by their number and intensity surpass all peasant demonstrations since 1918. The sanguinary conflicts with the police and troops in Khreben and Khodorov, the struggle being waged by the peasant masses against the fascist agrarian policy in Petrokovsk, Baranovicze, and recently in the Tarnopol region, where the peasants came into bloody conflict with the police, the bloody clashes at Batiaticze, the peasants' struggle against the fascist agrarian policy in the Zamosc area, and against the taxes in Podhale, a number of criminal processes against masses of peasants on charges of revolt and disorder, all witness to the severe leftward movement taking place in the peasant masses, their emancipation from the influence of social-fascism, and the fire-tempered struggle of the workers' and peasants' alliance against the Fascist Dictatorship.

In Western Ukraine and Western White Russia the national revolutionary struggle against the Polish fascist occupation has greatly developed during the last few months, and, despite the conciliatory efforts of the party of fascist compromise (the Ukrainian National Democratic Organisation), it has led to a number of demonstrations on the part of the Ukrainian and White Russian masses, as witness the events at Lvov at the end of last year, the demonstration of the Ukrainian masses in Jakobova Wola against the terror of the Fascist Dictatorship, the Congress of the Society of White Russian Schools, the strikes and demonstrations of the pupils and student youth in Western Ukraine, Western White Russia, and so on.

The clearest symptom of the leftward process going on in the masses was the May Day struggle under the leadership of the C.P. of Poland, using the struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship and against war with the U.S.S.R. as the chief slogan. This year the May Day struggle was more of a mass character than last year, and in addition to the proletarian centres, such as Warsaw, Lodz, and the Dombrova area, embraced a number of provincial towns and localities, both in the heart of Poland and in the occupied White Russian and Ukrainian lands—e.g., Lublin, Siedlce, Vilno, Lvov, Krakow, Vlatzlavsk, etc.). At the same time, it was an expression of the determined will of the proletarian masses for the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the Fascist Dictatorship, and testimony to the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and the growing hatred for the Fascist regime and its agents, the P.P.S. first and foremost. Despite the unprecedented fascist terror on the eve of May Day, despite the cunning activity of its agents, especially the P.P.S., despite the elimination not only of the active Party workers, but also of the active revolutionary factory workers, who crowded the prisons and the cells of the secret police in thousands, thirty thousand workers marched under the banners of the C.P. of Poland in order to demonstrate their will for struggle against Fascism and war. The workers broke through the police cordons, valiantly struggled for their banners, and would not retreat before the revolvers and machine-guns to which the fascist bandits resorted.

But the circumstance which conferred outstanding importance on the May Day struggle this year was that it saw the first mass revolutionary participation of the peasantry in the May Day struggle, under the slogan of "Struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship and war, and for a Workers' and Peasants' Government." According to the information we have so far received, about thirty thousand peasants participated in the May Day demonstrations, and of these, the report states that in more than a score of towns they demon-

strated with their own red banners, everywhere putting up their own speakers, and side by side with the workers resisted valiantly the attacks of the fascist police. Certain processions numbered thousands of peasants, who marched in dense columns into the towns from the surrounding villages and united with the demonstrations of the revolutionary workers. In Lublin, for instance, 1,500 peasants broke into the town, despite the fact that it was surrounded with a dense cordon of police; in Pulava, 3,000 demonstrated, in Suchachev 2,000, in Rzeszov (Galicia) 600 peasants carried on a struggle with the police in order to break through the cordon into the town, and so on.

Was the Party able to concentrate and mobilise these extraordinarily strong movements of the masses against fascism and war? Was the Party itself adequately equipped ideologically and organisationally to oppose the war preparations with a revolutionary alliance of the proletariat, the toiling peasantry and the oppressed peoples, and at the moment of its development to transform the imperialist war into a civil war? It would be a mistake not to see the great successes achieved by the Party during the past two years, beginning from the Fourth Congress, in the work of preparing the masses for the struggle against war. Undoubtedly every economic and political campaign carried out by the Party has been connected up with the main slogans of struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship and the war danger. In the Seym, at assemblies and meetings, the Seym fraction of the C.P. always puts the question of the war danger first and foremost, in the Party manifestoes and publications the slogan of struggle against war is raised to the first place, and is linked up with every definite campaign. None the less, the entire party activity in the struggle against war has consisted preponderantly in agitation and propaganda. It has especially to be emphasised that so far the Party has not succeeded in realising a plan of struggle against war, has for a number of years not succeeded in carrying out a special mobilisation mass campaign for the struggle against war. Since July, 1919, when, on the basis of the Comintern decision, the Party led the worker masses on the the streets under the slogan of struggle against war slaughter, and against war, has for a number of years not adopted corresponding decisions in the then existing Warsaw Soviet of Workers' Deputies, there has been no special mass campaign against war. Meantime, in view of the growing danger of an armed attack on the U.S.S.R. or the annexation of Lithuania, and also in view of the maturing revolutionary sympathies among the masses, who already clearly see the necessity of struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship and the war danger, the Party must pass from propaganda to the organisation of active mass demonstrations under the slogan of struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship, as being an instrument of the possessing classes in the preparations for war; and not only must they " popularise the idea of a general strike as a weapon of struggle against the crimes of fascism; as one of the mighty methods of struggle for the point at which they can pass to armed insurrection,"* but must with growing frequency call upon the workers to participate in mass political strikes, by means of which they will actively respond to all violence, attack, or danger from the Fascist Dictatorship and its agents, also, the fire of struggle will forge a new weapon for the overthrow of the fascist reaction.

The Party preparations for the " Red Day " fixed for August 1st must constitute a turning point in its methods of struggle against the war danger as they have been applied hitherto.

In Poland, the struggle against the war danger is a struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship and its agents, and in the first place it is the unmasking of the pacifist phraseology of the P.P.S., the Jewish Bund, the German Social-Democracy, and the other social-fascist parties, which under the cover of pacifist phrases are giving particularly active support to fascism in organising war, and by lulling the attention of the masses are seeking quietly lead them up to the guillotine of war. Already the P.P.S. has begun to slander the Red Day, in its fear that the campaign of our Party will finally unmask its role as the most active and most dangerous agitator and organiser of the imperialist war. The *Robotnik* for May 22nd, 1929, had a leader entitled:

* Decision of the C.C. third plenum. May, 1928.

" Bloody adventurism as a system," in which it writes of the Red Day : " The Comintern, therefore, is calling for the organisation of putsches in various countries, the Berlin disorders serving merely as an introduction to this campaign. Instead of the slogan ' Down with war ! ' we have ' Hurrah for the civil war.' " In order to delude the masses, the social fascist swindlers are proposing to organise demonstrations " against war and for disarmament " on the same day, so that by a frenzied slander of the U.S.S.R. they will render it difficult for our Party to mobilise the masses for a genuine struggle against war. Consequently, in the struggles for the masses, the Party must strike a blow along the whole front at this most advanced and simultaneously most concealed redoubt of fascism in the workers' ranks. In unmasking the real features of social-fascism to the eyes of the masses, it is not sufficient to confine ourselves to the demonstration of its real role in the preparation of war, but to connect up and demonstrate its everyday activity, which beneath the mask of democratic and radical phraseology involves the consolidation and support of the Fascist Dictatorship, and to put the slogans and demands of the Communist Party in contrast to it.

In order to mobilise the masses for the Red Day, the Party must first be ideologically equipped, it must be given the ideological weapon for the struggle with the enemy. The fact that so far the Sixth Congress decision on the struggle against the imperialist war has not been issued and popularised in our own Party ranks explains to a considerable extent our insufficient activity in the struggle against war. We must immediately make up for this failure, and all Party nuclei and Red factions must set to work on the application and popularisation of the anti-war decisions of the Sixth Congress, and must connect them with the direct preparatory work for the Red Day, thus supplying the Party with the main ideological material necessary to ensure the requisite conduct of the struggle. At the same time, the press and special brochures must discuss the main issues raised by the Sixth Congress, concentrating the Party's attention on the popularisation of the idea of an armed rising and civil war as the answer to the imperialist war, and as an inevitable prerequisite to the overthrow of the Fascist Dictatorship.

All the efforts of the Party must be directed towards guaranteeing that there shall be active participation of the wide masses of workers and peasants in the Red Day. We must already be at work popularising the slogan of a general strike, connecting up this immediate and main slogan with the everyday needs and demands of the masses, arousing the activity of the masses in their struggles for sectional demands, and summoning the masses to strike struggles for their economic demands, which at the present period of the crisis in stabilisation will strike at the very basis of capitalist economy. The Red Day must be the culminating point of an intensive and prolonged campaign amongst the broad masses, portending August 1st, and preparing the ground for the realisation of the slogan of a general strike, which must develop out of the rising tide of activity among the masses.

The preparation of the masses for the struggle against war must be transferred directly to the works and factories, enterprises and mines, and the masses must be summoned to elections of special anti-fascist committees for struggle against war. The factory committees, factory self-defence, factory plenipotentiaries, revolutionary unions or union left-wing, and also the mass legal organisations must all be drawn into the preparatory work. In every locality the anti-fascist committees or factory committees in the largest factories must call a local conference, at which anti-fascist committees for the struggle against war must be elected for the given locality, the council to have the conduct of the whole campaign. The elected committees of the larger towns must take on themselves the initiative for calling a regional conference of the councils, which will prepare the general regional direction of the campaign. The Party must exert all its efforts in order that on the Red Day the anti-war demonstrations shall have the quality of international solidarity and fraternisation across the existing frontier cordons. The international character of the " Red Day " can be especially emphasised in various ways : by the summoning of a conference of delegates from Poland's coal-mining areas, that of

German Upper Silesia, and the Czech coal area, by the election at this conference of a committee for the struggle against war, by the publication of a German-Polish-Czech newspaper for the Red Day, by the participation of the delegates from all the areas in the mass demonstrations of the workers in these areas lying on the other side of the frontier, simultaneous demonstrations of proletarian solidarity on the frontiers of these areas, the visits of delegates of the proletariat of other countries and their participation in the demonstrations and meetings. All these methods will lead to an intensification of the activity of the struggling masses.

The Party must turn special attention to the preparation of the Red Day among the peasant masses, remembering that our struggle for the soldier masses depends to a considerable extent on the degree to which the worker-peasant alliance is consolidated. Here, also, peasant anti-fascist committees must be set up, and these must, in close contact with the proletarian committees, organise joint worker-peasant demonstrations, and prepare a general strike on the Red Day in the countryside. The legal mass peasant organisations must now become the basis of the broad mass anti-war campaign among the peasant masses and oppressed peoples. In our struggle against the war danger we must give special attention to the winning of the soldiers. Special publications and brochures, special methods of approach to the soldiers, a careful preparation for the Red Day in the barracks themselves, an increased activity in our military nuclei and an enrolment campaign for the Party must all be given special consideration by our Party.

The Young Communist League of Poland has a special task laid upon it in connection with the preparation and conduct of the Red Day, for, jointly with the Party, it must carry through a broad mobilisation of the masses of young workers and peasants.

In Poland the Red Day must become a general review of the forces of the revolution for the purpose of the struggle against the Fascist Dictatorship and the war danger, and must considerably advance the work of the anti-fascist camp in respect to the mobilisation of the masses of proletariat, peasantry, and oppressed peoples behind the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Party will carry out the Red Day successfully if it succeeds in eliminating all passivity and distrust within its own ranks, if it carries on a resolute struggle against all right-wing errors and conciliation to such errors, and succeeds in inspiring its own ranks and also the masses with faith in victory.

Lessons of the May Day Events in Germany

B. V.

IN the preparations for Red Day, August 1st, the experience of the C.P.'s of Germany and France is of great importance. This is so for the following reasons: (1) The importance attached to France and Germany among the other capitalist countries of the European continent. (2) The existence of strong Communist Parties in both countries, which of recent days have carried on considerable activity in the struggle with deviations from the Leninist line. (3) The leftward movement of the working masses in these countries is proceeding at a relatively swifter tempo.

The C.P. of Germany has already surveyed the results of that experience. The enlarged session of the Plenum of the Berlin-Brandenburg party committee on 12th May occupied itself specially with a detailed study of the Berlin May Day events. The resolution on the lessons of the May struggle and the immediate tasks of the C.P. of Germany passed at this session (published in Nos. 23-24 of the English edition of *Inprecor*) is a most important document on this question, and should be studied by all Communist Parties. This document established the following achievements of the C.P. of Germany as the result of the May Day incidents: (1) The masses have won the street; (2) in the struggle with the police the proletariat rose to a further stage in the development of the class antagonisms; (3) the sectional political strikes which occurred as the result of the May Day incidents have strengthened the basis of the party in the masses throughout the country; (4) the Social-Democratic Party has been unmasked more swiftly and fundamentally than ever before, to the entire working class as a party of murderers, of provocation and police terror; (5) the class-consciousness and activity of the working class has grown tremendously, and in addition has obtained experience in revolutionary class struggle; (6) the establishment of a united front of the working class against the triple alliance of the employers, the State and reformists has proceeded a further stage (which was expressed, *inter alia*, by the establishment of May Day committees in Berlin and the holding of a delegate conference with 380 delegates from 202 enterprises employing 139,000 workers); (7) the May incidents were a starting point for new, larger and more significant class battles, and for the creation of the prerequisites to a swifter development of the C.P. of Germany.

The C.P. of Germany gained all these achievements despite a number of defects in the preparation and celebration of May Day. The resolution of the Berlin-Brandenburg party committee indicated the chief defects and errors, attaching especial importance to the following three: (1) Part of the party has still not realised the peculiarities and special tasks of the present moment; (2) as the resolution says, the party as a whole had a traditional, legalist conception of the character of the May Day campaign; (3) there was an unsatisfactory connection between the directing party organs. These are defects not of the C.P. of Germany alone; they can be observed even in certain illegal parties, where elements of a legalist approach to the carrying out of the May Day demonstration can be noted. It would be unsound to think that the struggle with the legalist traditions is of import only to the legal parties. That same task confronts illegal parties also, albeit in a somewhat specialised form. In the illegal parties one observes a tendency to preserve the existing legal possibilities by concessions on the principal political positions. If these tendencies are not strenuously resisted they will lead to opportunist wobblings along the whole line. Obviously, when the illegal parties are tackling the question of participation in the celebration of August 1st through the legal organisations

this question becomes of prime importance. All the C.P.'s must necessarily check up on all their preparatory work for August 1st, from the aspect of the most strenuous struggle against the defects indicated in the resolution of the Berlin-Brandenburg Party Committee.

What are the definite tasks?

(1) The first and most important is to take stock of the composition of the corresponding leading party organs, with a view to ascertaining the extent to which the leading comrades have a sound conception, and the extent to which they are free of their former social-democratic approach. In the resolution of the May Brussels Conference of the European Communist Parties for preparation of the international August 1st the following measures are proposed to the C.P.'s: "An inter-Party discussion of all the questions connected with the campaign, especially in the factory nuclei; to concentrate the best forces of the Party upon the big factory nuclei, especially in the war munition works; systematically to control the work of these nuclei and the composition of their committees." This is wholly and entirely a sound approach, but to it has to be added that in no case may we limit ourselves only to checking up on the composition of the Party leadership and the factory nuclei. It is necessary (absolutely necessary, as an obligatory prerequisite to checking up on the work of the factory nuclei) to ensure a checking up on the work and on the composition of the leadership of all those Party committees which are directly responsible for directing the work of the factory nuclei, and which must carry immediate responsibility for the concentration of the finest Party forces in the nuclei of the large enterprises. It is quite obvious that this is the central feature of the consolidation of the work in the enterprises.

The second important practical question is that of who is going to do this checking up and how is it going to be done. The answer is: By a systematic checking upon and instructing of the local organisations. It is particularly important that this instruction should take place at the moment of carrying out large political demonstrations. All parties must at all costs organise this work of instruction, mobilising the finest forces of the Party to this end.

Finally, the third task, which must necessarily be set before all the C.P.'s of capitalist countries, is that of the maximum intensification of ideological work in connection with the definite questions of preparation for August 1st. On this line it is particularly important that all the work should necessarily embrace the mass of workers in the large enterprises of the most important spheres of industry. Consequently, measures must be taken at once to extend the network of factory newspapers as widely as possible, to ensure the issue of leaflets and literature, foreseeing that the police will unquestionably adopt all measures in order somehow or other to deprive the C.Ps of a legal press on the eve of August 1st, and on that day itself, and that therefore it will be especially important on these days, regularly to inform the masses of the working class of the events taking place, and of the immediate tasks put forward by the Parties.

LESSON OF THE MAY-DAY INCIDENTS IN FRANCE

The May Day incidents in Germany and still more in France thrust forward organisational and tactical questions which are worthy of special study by all C.Ps.

During recent years and especially during the last year the radicalisation of the masses of French proletariat has proceeded to a particularly noticeable extent. This is testified by the hundreds of strikes which occurred in that countries during 1928 and the first five months of 1929, including such large and stubborn strikes as those of the textile workers in the North and in Rouen; and the miners' strike. The results of the municipal elections also inindicated this fact. By carrying out mass arrests and other arbitrary methods the police succeeded in smashing the strike in Paris, but no one can conceal the fact that on May Day 80 per cent. of the metal workers, 100 per cent. of the builders, 100 per cent of the tobacco and match industry workers, 60 per cent. of the funishing trades workers, a 100 per cent. of the woodworkers and so on were on strike in Paris. To what do these facts witness? They witness to the circumstance that despite the employers' terror in the enterprises carried on with the aid of the secret and ordinary police, with the aid of provocation; in a word, with

all resources possible; directed against the revolutionary inclined workers, in the chief spheres of industry, in the centres of concentration of the hostile class forces, the main masses of the proletariat answered the call of the Communist Party. During this year the Poincare government has succeeded in paralysing the street demonstrations of these workers, but it is simply silly to think that one can hold back the revolutionary movement of the proletariat by police measures, when the proletariat has recognised its interests and when it is ceasing to listen to the social traitors. We shall see what the enemies of the proletariat will say after August 1st, reckoning as we do that the French proletariat, and the French C.P. particularly, will take the defects and errors in the preparation for the May Day preparations into account and will draw all the necessary practical conclusion from them.

The C.P. of France must particularly turn its attention to the fact that the May Day strike movement embraced those very spheres of industry in which the Party and Unitary T.U. organisations are at their very weakest. And on the other hand the movement was at its weakest or was completely non-existent wherever the party operated on stronger party and T.U. organisations. This fact confronts the C.P. of France with the two following tasks of prime importance: 1, that of the most diligent investigation into the reasons why there were such poor results in spheres of industry where the party is organisationally stronger, and particularly where the railway-workers were concerned. What is wrong here? Investigations must be made in respect to social democratic traditions, legalism, passivity, etc. The workers of the municipal enterprises (electric power stations, waterworks, etc.), and particularly, the railway workers in France, enjoy a number of privileges, which naturally dispose them towards "valuing their positions," and against being mixed up in various revolutionary demonstrations, as the result of which they might lose their right to pensions, and so on! This has to be taken into account, it makes the work of the French C.P. in these spheres of industry more difficult, but even in these spheres all the workers are not opportunists par excellence, so to speak; the majority of the workers in these spheres can, and must be, drawn into the revolutionary struggle, together with the rest of the proletariat. Consequently, it is necessary to investigate the composition of the leading organs (the bureau of nuclei, the bureau of fractions, the party committee serving the railway areas), and in the investigation to purge them of opportunistic and bureaucratic elements, to renew them with fresh revolutionary forces, on that basis to strengthen and make active the factory nuclei and fractions, to accustom them to revolutionary initiative and struggle. It is particularly important to carry out this work in regard to the railway workers, where, as is well known, even among communists, the rights of citizenship are exploited to further the views that the railway workers can come into action only after the workers of all other spheres of industry have come into action. A ruthless war has to be declared on this theory. In the work of preparation for war the railway workers play a primary role. It is beyond dispute that the French railway workers have numerous and highly varied methods of opposing the transport of troops, brought from the provinces to act against the Paris proletariat; but they are inactive. The C.P. of France must exert the utmost effort so that the railway workers should not prove passive on August 1st.

2. The C.P. of France must immediately exploit the situation which arose during the May Day strikes in the metal, wood-working and chemical spheres of industry. The party must throw its finest forces into the work of organisationally consolidating the enormous revolutionary feeling which was revealed during the May Day strikes among the workers of these spheres of industry; and must develop a network of factory nuclei, strengthen the T.U. organisation, develop factory newspapers, and so on.

"A.B.Z." AND OTHER ANTI-COMMUNIST PLANS OF THE BOURGEOISIE.

Finally: the third important deduction from the experience of the May Day in France, and one of an international importance, refers to the chief problems of the tactic of the prole-

tariat in the fight to possess the streets. These problems are now the centre of attention both for the bourgeoisie and for the proletariat.

During the recent period, the bourgeoisie has systematically returned to the consideration of these problems, and, of course, this is no accident. When the " Civises " of *Peuple*, the French reformists' organ, indulge in nonsensical talk about " Stalin's children " being out in their reckoning on the radicalisation of the masses, and that in reality there is no radicalistion at all, that it is all an invention of the Fascists or of Moscow, that kind of talk is only for the *Peuple*. But in actuality both " Civis " and particularly his masters in the Ministry for Home Affairs, know very well that the forward movement of the masses is continually developing, and undoubtedly their oragnisational estimate of this radicalisation is incomparably better done than is that of the Communist parties. The political police have their agents in all places where the proletariat are congregated, in the enterprises, in the workers' quarters, and so on. These agents diligently note all the manifestations of dissatisfaction among the workers, and communicate the facts to their chiefs. The chiefs draw up summaries. The Government, having these summaries in 1927, began to manifest a feverish anxiety, demanding of the police and military authorities plans which would guarantee the ruling classes against proletarian risings. Undoubtedly the Vienna rising of June, 1927, played a particularly large part in this question. A rising, mark you, in a country where there was a small C.P. numbering hardly five thousand, and where there was half a million devoted members of the Social-Democratic party entirely under hand. Hence, all the various " plans " of recent times. These plans were of course drawn up in the deepest secrecy, but now that secrecy is the secrecy of the market place. And what are these plans? The essence of all of them consists in the preparations of the bourgeoisie for resisting the armed rising of the proletariat, and thus elaborating purely military methods of struggle against the C.P. Thus the bourgeoisie is going half way to prepare for and meet the realisation of that clause in the programme of the Communist International which makes it obligatory for all the C.P.'s to prepare for the last fight with the bourgeoisie, with arms in hand and " according to all the rules of military art." The May Day incidents in Berlin poured oil on the flames. In all countries the bourgeoisie is now crying out that the Comintern is preparing an international armed rising on August 1st. These shouts about the plans for an armed rising of the proletariat on August 1st are the purest bosh. The Western European Bureau of the Comintern did quite rightly in pouring ridicule on the spreading of such nonsense concerning the preparations for August 1st. One must be a complete idiot to believe that the Comintern is preparing for an international armed rising on August 1st, 1929. Is that the way in which preparations are made for an armed rising? On August 1st the world proletariat will hold a rehearsal for their further battles, and undoubtedly the ruling class will also rehearse the methods and resources with which they will struggle against the armed rising of the proletariat. The proletariat must have foreknowledge of these methods and resources. These " preventive" plans of the bourgeoisie against revolution are not complicated.

1. Plan " Z " (French) consists in the ruling class drawing the armed forces away from the Capital, leaving that Capital in the hands of the proletariat; and then to conquer it from without. That is the plan of the executioners of the Paris Commune. It is based on the expectancy that the ruling classes will succeed in carrying all the members of their class out of the Capital, and will then proceed to deal with the proletariat left behind. Being the most bestial, this plan is also the most difficult of accomplishment; it is difficult and practically impossible, to effect a " timely " withdrawal of all whom they would wish to withdraw; also, the proletariat now live mainly in the suburbs, and of recent years the Capital has been systematically unloaded of this disturbing element. This process has been thrown into particularly high relief in Paris, especially. The proletariat has least of all to fear from this very plan " Z." Let the ruling class free the city from the police and army forces, and let them afterwards try to ransom their hostages, and then attempt to

take the city back, having in their rear the preponderent masses of revolutionary proletariat!

In practice, the ruling classes will undoubtedly take the course of Berlin and Paris in May, 1929.

In Berlin on May Day, 1929, the ruling classes provoked the workers into a premature construction of barricades, and an unprepared armed defence. They had need of this provocation in order to show by the bestial shooting down of unarmed workers what they were capable of if the affair reached the stage of serious battles.

In Paris the ruling classes mobilised the police and other "faithful" armed forces from all over the country, and then, through these forces, made upwards of four thousand preliminary arrests, and in addition occupied Paris and all the approaches to the city with such strong armed pickets that the demonstration of the unarmed proletariat was literally physically disorganised.

One must foresee that on August 1st in all the capitalist countries where the communist parties succeed in developing the necessary activity, the ruling classes will apply combined Paris and Berlin methods. What can the proletariat oppose to them at the moment?

1. The concentration of police forces in the capital will denude the provinces, where there are also large proletarian centres. Neither the German, the French, or any other bourgeois government has at its disposal, nor can it have, such police forces as would enable them to hold the capital and the whole country. The C.P. of Germany and France did not exploit this circumstance during the May Day incidents, and thus committed a big error. That is especially true of the C.P. of France, for there was a particularly large concentration of armed forces in Paris (of the total of 45,000 in the republican guards, 30,000 were concentrated in Paris on May Day). Despite such a situation, the May Day demonstrations in the provinces were comparatively poor, and could have been considerably better had the party taken requiste measures. Those measures must adopted for August 1st. The proletariat is stronger than the bourgeoisie with its police. The police cannot occupy all the factories in the country. The C.P. must struggle to ensure that every works where the police forces are weakened and left feeble, every factory shall take part in the demonstration of August 1st. The police can arrest workers making their way singly to a meeting or demonstration, but the police cannot stop a strike, if all the workers firmly decide to put forward definite political and economic demands, and cease work on a definite time and day. Nor, if all the workers strike simultaneously, can the police stop them when they emerge from all the factory buildings. And when tens of thousands of workers go on to the streets, the streets are in the hands of the workers. We need to ensure that on August 1st, not only in Paris and Berlin, but the entire proletarian front shall be in action, that the C.C. of the C.P.'s should make the most diligent organisation, and should develop the maximum of tional and political preparations in this direc- revolutionary initiative and insistence, strictly tightening up the discipline in all the party organisations and on all the party membership. It will be a very big, a very difficult, and very responsible struggle.

In preparing that struggle all the C.P.'s must have as their starting point the struggle against social-democracy and against social-democratic opportunist tendencies in their own ranks. Ootherwise defeat is inevitable.

WORK AMONG THE TROOPS

Work among the troops is of extraordinary importance in the task of preparing for August 1st. That work must be developed to its maximum; all the defects and omissions in the activity of the C.P.'s along this line must be eliminated as quickly and as radically as possible.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PROVOCATION

In preparing for August 1st we must all the time foresee the danger of police provocation. It will take two main lines:—

1. That of driving the C.P.'s and the other revolutionary class organisations into premature demonstrations, of provoking armed struggle, and so on. It is necessary to previously explain to the vast masses of workers the nature of such manœuvres on the part of

the class enemies, and warn them as to how they are to distinguish the provocational from the genuine call issued by the C.P.'s (the C.C. must work out in detail the technique of this question). It is especially necessary to forewarn the workers against provocational demonstrations of the social-democrats. Without doubt the social-democrats will spread all kinds of rumours concerning all sorts of non-existent agreements, decisions of workers' organisations, and so on. These provocational attacks of the social-provocators have to be watched and put to the political judgment of the proletarian masses.

2. The police will increase the number of provocateurs in the ranks of the C.P.'s and other revolutionary proletarian organisations. The police have already considerably increased their number. In future there will be even more of them. The party must be on its guard. The provocateurs must be caught and effectively unmasked.

In conclusion the main watchwords of the preparatory campaign for August 1st are audacity, pesistence, iron discipline, the deepest faith in the millions of proletarian masses rising to new battles, and a ruthless struggle against opportunist vacillations and wobblings.

B. V.

PREPARING FOR REVOLT

By N. LENIN

A section of this book has been previously published under the title "On the Road to Insurrection." Also included in this book is the pamphlet "Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power?"

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International Red Day

H. Roland

INTRODUCTION

THE question of the approaching war is now agitating the greatest masses of all countries. It is no secret to anyone that a new imperialist war is imminent, the dimensions and forms of which will leave all previous wars far behind.

The capitalists make no attempt to conceal the fact that the new imperialist war is not far distant; they merely seek to convince the workers that the guilt for the coming war lies not upon them, but upon their evilly disposed neighbours, and that one of the causes of the war is the "red imperialism" of the Soviet Union.

The danger of the new war into which the world is about to be plunged is determined first and foremost by the peculiarity of the period through which capitalist economy is passing. The present period of world development is a period of general crisis in capitalism. Whatever individual successes may have been achieved by capitalist economy during the period of so-called stabilisation, the bourgeoisie has failed to live down the crisis into which a rotting capitalism fell as the result of the last war. The present period is characterised by the disturbance of the temporary stability which capitalist economy has tried to achieve of recent years.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern it was pointed out that the present "third period" of the post-war development of capitalism is characterised by an increased rate of development of the internal and international antagonisms. The basic contradiction of capitalism, that between an accelerated development of production and an extraordinary lag in purchasing power, both of the foreign markets and of the masses inside the capitalist countries, has come to its full strength and emerged to the foreground.

Recently the economic crisis has not only not increased in severity, but, on the contrary, has drawn into its sphere of influence even countries which previously had appeared to be in a most favourable situation. In the United States, the citadel of world capitalism, there are now four million unemployed. Since 1919 there has been an absolute decline in the number of industrial workers in the U.S.A. America, which previously had not felt so keenly the need of external markets for its goods, is now becoming the most active imperialist Power, and is coming into sharp conflict with the other imperialist States, and with Britain first and foremost, in a struggle for markets, for a monopolist possession of raw materials, and for spheres open to capital investment.

In Germany, the classic country of "stabilisation," reckoning all the categories of unemployed and including their families, we get the extraordinary figure of eight million persons without work and living at the expense of unemployment pay, crisis subsidies and benevolent funds.

Approximately the same number of persons —about six millions—are affected by unemployment in Britain.

These figures are a complete refutation of all the talk of a restoration of the capitalist process, such as is indulged in by the Social-Democrats and their new friends, the right-wing opportunists, who have been thrown out of the Comintern.

Our epoch is characterised by the circumstance that, together with the known achievements of capitalism in the realm of technique, monopolist unifications, etc., there is coming to the front an unprecedented intensification of the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. These internal antagonisms of capitalism are indicated by the intensification of class struggles in all the most important capitalist countries. A wave of economic struggles has rolled over the whole world from America to India during the last few months. In France alone, during the last six months

there has been an average of one hundred new large-scale strikes per month. In view of the general intensification of the class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, these economic battles inevitably develop into political battles. The May Day events in Berlin and Poland are a good illustration of the severity of the internal antagonisms of capitalism in this "third period."

The international antagonisms of capitalism are no less characteristic. To-day the prospect of a new war is becoming very clearly defined. Caught in the pincers of an economic crisis, driven on by a growing disturbance of stabilisation, the imperialist bourgeoisie is carrying on preparatory work for the seizure of new markets, for the conquest of fresh colonies. During the "third period" the antagonisms between the capitalist countries and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the East are developing an unprecedented severity.

Simultaneously, in another sphere of world economy, we have a vigorous development of Socialist construction. The consolidation of the Socialist economy of the Soviet Union provides a threat, not only to the capitalist elements inside the U.S.S.R., but also to all the whole of capitalist world economy. Therefore the frenzied hatred and enormous energy with which the imperialists are preparing to strangle the Soviet Union by military intervention are perfectly understandable.

Of all the antagonisms existing in the world at the present time, the most severe is that between the Soviet Union and the countries of capitalism. The new war threatens first and foremost to take the line of this antagonism.

A new war is coming upon the world with a menacing inevitability. Only the mobilisation of the masses under the banner of militant Bolshevism, only the organisation of the revolutionary proletariat under the banner of a consequential and resolute struggle against the imperialists' preparations, can postpone the new war.

On August 1st, the Communist Parties of the world are organising a militant review of the forces of the international proletariat in readiness for the struggle against the approaching war. On that day the revolutionary workers of the whole world will demonstrate their readiness for the struggle against the new imperialist adventures, and at the same time will unmask the preparations being made for the new war in each capitalist country. On that day the toilers of the whole world will demonstrate their readiness to undertake the defence of the Socialist fatherland of the toilers of the world—the Soviet Union.

Fifteen years have passed since the declaration of the world war, but the capitalist world has still not recovered from its consequences. These consequences find expression, not only in the form of an incessant general crisis in capitalism, in continually increasing unemployment, in increasingly tense relationships between the various capitalist States and groups of capitalist States, but also in the maintenance of the conditions which directly existed during the war of 1914-1918.

The army of French imperialism is still in occupation of part of German territory the imperialist Powers are still, with fire and sword, consolidating the colonial rights conferred on them by the Versailles Treaty. The victors are still unable to reach agreement as to the contribution which they have to extract from the conquered countries, despite the Dawes plan, the Young plan, and other cunning devices of the international bankers. Another new war is due to break out, and yet the imperialists cannot get away from the war of 1914-1918.

The intensified danger of a new war is the best possible proof of the falseness of the "last war" theory, with which the bourgeois and Social-Democratic politicians made great play during the 1914-1918 war. The Social-democrats were the most ardent of all the apostles of this thoroughly false theory. They spread amongst the masses the illusion that the imperialist war would assist in putting an end to wars. "The war to end war," so the Social-Democrats extolled the world war, endeavouring to hoodwink the masses who sincerely hated war and who were ready to make any sacrifice if only once for all to end this nightmare which hung over the whole world!

None the less, even then, when the chauvinist poison had envenomed the consciousness of a considerable section of the working class, Lenin on November 1st, 1914, wrote in the

Social-Democrat : " Imperialism has put the fate of European culture to the hazard ; after the present war, if it be not followed by a series of successful revolutions, will come other wars. The legend that this is the last war is an idle and dangerous fairy-tale, a piece of petty-bourgeois mythology."

We are now realising the truth of Lenin's word more than ever before. The danger of new wars was not eliminated by the last war, but, on the contrary, it was increased, for the inequality of the economic development of various countries, which is a factor making for war, has been intensified.

We need but to consider the frantic growth of armaments which is to be observed in all capitalist countries in order to be convinced how real and actual is the danger of a new war.

And we must bear in mind that the figures and information concerning the quantitative side of the growth of armaments, the existence of aeroplanes, etc., far from completely characterise the real truth of the bourgeoisie's preparations for war.

The centre of the modern preparations for war has been transferred not so much to the aeroplane, ammunition, and similar factors, as to the mobilisation of the entire national economy, to the preparation of all the prerequisites enabling a considerable army and an enormous war industry to be developed during the first years of the war.

The strength of a modern army is not determined by the quantity of shells and ammunition in the war arsenals or the number of military aeroplanes in the hangars of the aerodromes. The bourgeoisie is directing its main attention to the mobilisation of the powers of industry, to the possibility of supplying the fighting army with new means of destruction in a comparatively short space of time. It is naturally extraordinarily difficult to estimate all these activities, which are mainly carried on in secret laboratories of the war and chemical factories and in the secret offices of the war ministers. But the information which we have at our disposal shows to a certain extent how the bourgeoisie is preparing for the new war.

The war budget is some indication of the growth of expenditure on war. The war budgets of the six largest world Powers (France, Britain, the U.S.A., Italy, Japan, and Germany) have grown from 2,002 million dollars in 1923-24 to 2,217 million dollars in 1928. These figures are, of course, incomplete, for they do not include a number of extraordinarily symptomatic expenditures in the direction of strengthening war industry, various credits for the preparation of war, and so on.

A considerable growth of armaments is noticeable in the aerial realm also. Excluding Germany, and taking the five other countries above specified, in 1930, 5,800 aeroplanes and hydroplanes are planned for construction, and 7,000 in 1932. The total of land forces in the same five countries, including regulars and reserves, reaches the figure of 20,700,000 men.

These figures convincingly show with what seven-league strides the capitalist world is approaching a new war.

The war of 1914-1918 was the result of cruel antagonisms in a rotting capitalist system. With the aid of war, the capitalist countries thought to resolve those antagonisms. But war proved to be a poor medicine : it not only did not heal the old diseases racking capitalist society, but added still further ailments.

The post-war epoch has been characterised by a number of incessant wars, on a smaller scale than that of 1914-1918. In almost every corner of the globe there has been a war, a struggle on a " local scale." Since the war there has not been a single year in which the capitalistic world could boast of even a relative " peace on earth and goodwill among men." All the time, from year to year, on all the continents, sanguinary conflicts between separate capitalist States, or between capitalist States and colonial countries, are going on, and attempts are being made to bring armed pressure to bear on the Soviet Union.

Take, for example, the present moment, when peace ostensibly reigns. No bad illustration of that "peace" is provided by France's incessant war activities in Morocco ; the protracted war in Afghanistan (the work of the British imperialists, who are seeking to dismember Afghanistan into separate groups) ; the war in China between various groups of generals, who reflect the interests of various imperialist Powers, and so on. All these wars of a "local" importance are on the one hand

a demonstration of the intensification of the antagonisms existing in various parts of the world, and, on the other, they are the harbingers of the imminent world-war.

The historic moment in which we are at present, and in which the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world will, during the August demonstration, enter under crimson banners upon an irreconcilable war with militarism and capitalism, has its own peculiarities. In these present days we are getting a clearer and clearer outline of the approximate picture of the coming imperialist war. It is still difficult to fix a date, and it is impossible to say in what place will occur the first explosion which will act as the stimulus to the general world-war. But even now we have an approximate demarcation within the capitalist camp, a determining combination of forces for the new war.

We can say with confidence that all the objective prerequisites to the new world-war have already matured. We have present the general antagonisms between the strongest competing capitalist Powers — Britain and the United States. The elements of the new war have sufficiently matured in the other small and large capitalist States. But the capitalist politicians are still afraid to press the last button, for they know very well that the working masses on the whole are still inadequately prepared for a war. Two circumstances : the revolutionary mood of considerable sections of the working class and their recent leftward trend, and the existence of the Soviet Union, are two serious obstacles to a comparatively swift development of a new war.

Capitalism is war. That is an irrefutable law of social development. The whole objective course of development of the capitalist society draws it into the war-path. Capitalists know too that just as the last war resulted in a revolutionary outbreak in a number of countries, so a new war will inevitably develop into a civil war, into a new socialist revolution. Consequently, in their preparations for a new war capitalists are seeking to find guarantees against the mortal danger of a socialist revolution. So it is not merely a coincidence that the preparations for a new war come simultaneously with a new wave of white terror against the communist parties, with pressure on the working class, attempts to mitilarise it, and to fascisise the larger enterprises etc. The bourgeosie is preparing for a new war in the factories, the works, and on the railways, carrying out a corresponding purge and selection of their men, mercilessly driving out all who have even the most distant relationship with Communism, all who appear to the bourgeoisie to be revolutionary.

May Day in France was a brilliant example of how the bourgeoisie will operate on the eve of a new war. The French police are boasting of their methods of preventing the "disorders" of May Day. Those methods are certainly very simple : on the eve of May Day the French police arrested several thousands of persons whom they suspected of Communism, cut off the organisational head, so to speak, so as to hinder it from directing the May Day demonstrations. On the eve of a new war, the bourgeoisie will not only endeavour to remove the leaders from the Communist Parties, but even from every works where there is suspicion of Communistic leanings. Already a stock-taking is being made of the "suspect" workers at the capitalistic works. The factory secret police are now performing the duties which were the task of the field police in war time.

The bourgeoisie is not restricting its preparations to industrial and military spheres, or to ideological preparations, but is also carrying out corresponding organisational measures which are intended to safeguard the rear against the pestilential Communist agitation.

And now, fifteen years after the beginning of the first world war, the preparation for a second round of imperialist wars is going on particularly energetically and zealously.

THE WAR ON THE U.S.S.R.

In the general plan of preparations for new wars, the central feature is the preparation of wars on the Soviet Union.

Of all the present-day international antagonisms, that between the capitalist world and the country of Socialism in construction is the most severe.

The working class of the whole world must clearly understand that the greatest danger of a new war lies along the line of preparations for intervention in the Soviet Union. The capi-

talist politicians and representatives of the various general staffs are continually ferreting around all the frontiers of the Soviet Union, forming a single capitalist front against the republic of the workers and peasants.

Whilst preparing for war against the U.S.S.R., the capitalists are at the same time trying to convince their workers that a possible armed conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the neighbouring States is the result of the militarist attitude of Bolshevism and the policy of "red imperialism," which ostensibly is carried on by the Soviet Government. By such completely groundless talk, such impudent falsehood, the capitalists are attempting to conceal their own preparations for war on the U.S.S.R.

In a number of recent statements the Soviet diplomats have presented the toilers of the whole world with proof after proof of the fact that the Soviet Union is striving to maintain peace, not in word, but in deed. The energetic, completely consequential policy of preserving peace and postponing the moment of outbreak of the approaching second round of imperialist wars which the U.S.S.R. is carrying out has shattered the groundless agitation of the Imperialist politicians and their Menshevik chorus over the pretext that the U.S.R. is one of the causes of the coming war.

The energetic policy which the Soviet Government and diplomats are carrying on is by no means due to the Bolsheviks at the head of affairs in the U.S.S.R. being peace-loving lambs, pacifist vegetarians who are afraid of the sight of blood. The Communists in power in the U.S.S.R. have always considered and still consider that civil war, the overthrow of capitalism by an armed rising, is the most trustworthy method of moving the world on to its Socialistic future.

But the Communists know full well that the economic and political system which exists in the U.S.S.R. at the present time is historically more progressive than is the capitalist system. The struggle between the capitalist world and the U.S.S.R. is a struggle between two systems, of which the first is a backward and declining system, and the second an advanced and rising system. The capitalists, or at least the more far-sighted of them, also know that very well, and are seeking by all means to hinder the development of the economic processes which are now unfolding in the U.S.S.R.

The policy of constructing Socialism on the basis of the industrialisation of the whole country, which the Soviet Union is now carrying out, essentially involves the death of the capitalist system. All the toilers in the Soviet Union realise that a few more years of peaceable development of the Soviet Union will allow it to realise its five-year plan of development of national economy. And the realisation of the five-year plan will involve a decisive consolidation of the basis of Socialism, not only in the Soviet Union, but throughout the world.

So it is quite natural that the capitalist States are trying by all means in their power to hinder the peaceful economic development of the Soviet Union, and are seeking to eliminate this hated economic and social system by intervention. The new imperialist war, directed first and foremost against the Soviet Union may break off the whole work of Socialist construction in the first country of Proletarian dictatorship, and so may involve a blow at the workers' movement throughout the world.

The Soviet Union is standing out against the new imperialist wars not as the adherent of a slobbering pacifism, but because it is demanded by the expediency of the World Revolution and its base, the socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is interested in peace because the accomplishment of its main tasks —the Socialist industrialisation of the country, the introduction of a mighty industrial base under the socialist construction—is possible only in peace conditions. They all see that a new imperialist war is being prepared, they all know well that no pacifist vociferations can avert the war which is inevitable under Capitalism. But the U.S.S.R. is doing all it can in order to exploit every formal, "moral" and other obligation in order to put up an obstacle to a speedier unloosing of war conflicts.

The U.S.S.R. is perfectly aware of all the conventionality of the obligations which the capitalist Powers take upon themselves, everybody knows the transiency and visionary nature of all the pacts and agreements. When

the steam pressure in the boiler of imperialist antagonisms reaches a certain level all those obligations and pacts will be blown up together with the boiler itself. But at the same time we must take into account the circumstance that the ruling groups of militant Imperialism are not only preparing for war, but are exerting no little effort in order to mobilise so-called social opinion, i.e., the petty bourgeoisie, and the majority of the backward groups of workers, who by no means burn with any special war ardour, on to their side.

The organisational and propagandist attitude of the Imperialist bourgeosie consists in representing the matter as though someone were planning to attack the "fatherland", and that the "duty"of every citizen and the "interests of the nation" demand armed resistance. In preparing for war against the U.S.S.R. the militant imperialism endeavours to multiply the so-called national interests by the openly class interests, declaring that " red imperialism" is one of the qualities of the attacking country.

By signing the pact of non-agression and undertaking the obligation to disarm, the ruling groups of bourgeoisie of course find it more and more difficult to mobilise the social opinion of their countries against the Soviet Union, especially as the initiator of this pact is the Soviet Union itself. This constitutes the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union is trying to preserve peace although it knows that the only absolute guarantee of that is the abolition of the conditions engendering war, i.e., the capitalist system of economic relationships. But so long as the Socialist Revolution of the World Proletariat has not swept away the capitalist system, the Soviet Union will do all in its power to delay the arrival of the Imperialist war. The Soviet Union's peace policy, the statements of various of its politicians and diplomats, its energetic and consequential tactics on questions of disarmament, the disclosure of the militarist plans of the bourgeoisie, all prevent the latter from making their war preparations at the tempo they would like.

The objective conditions and the subjective policy which the Soviet Government is pursuing are a brilliant proof of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is the only country which really desires peace.

ANTI-SOVIET COMBINATIONS

Despite this, the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. are going full steam ahead. One can confidently state that there is literally not a single capitalist country in the world which would not to a greater or lesser degree be prepared to participate in a war against the first republic of workers and peasants in the world.

Even those who shout the loudest of their love of peace, countries hardly visible on a map, such as Denmark, are being drawn into the fulfilment of their duty to participate in the war preparations against the U.S.S.R. In the plans of the general staffs of the great Powers, during a war with the U.S.S.R., Denmark is to safeguard a free passage of French sea-forces through Danish waters to proceed to the aid of Poland.

The preparations for war on the U.S.S.R. are taking most varied forms. The imperialist politicians, the agents of capitalist counter-reconnaissance, the officers of the general staffs and the Social-Democrats are each of them fulfilling a corresponding role in the work of preparation for a new intervention. Besides the open summons of the frenzied Polish nobility and military governors to a crusade against the U.S.S.R., the bank magnates are carrying on a cautious and hidden game. With the aid of a number of economic measures they are trying on the one hand to weaken the U.S.S.R., and on the other hand, arising out of those measures, they are seeking to form a single anti-Soviet bloc of capitalist States. In this system of economic measures, economic blockade is far from being a minor measure. The blockade was always one of the weapons of struggle against the Soviet Union. During the civil war the anti-Soviet coalition of great Powers cut the Soviet Union off from its most important raw material and food supplies, and set up a barrier of fronts between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. The policy of isolating the U.S.S.R. from the rest of the world was effected with the aid of passport, gold, and other blockades. The Allies created all kinds

of obstacles to the export of gold and commodities from the Soviet Union and to the foreign visits of Soviet representatives. The Soviet Republic's victory on the war front struck a crushing blow at the capitalist blockade. A number of imperialist Powers entered into diplomatic relations with the Union, and opened normal trading relationships. But that, of course, did not mean that the capitalists had given up their various attempts to renew the blockade.

At the present time, by organising a blockade, the prerequisites are established for the organisation of a united front, directed against the U.S.S.R. One of the prerequisites of a successful development of intervention is in the capitalists' view a strong blockade front, which at the moment or direct war activity would completely isolate the U.S.S.R. from the rest of the world. The British, German, and French industrialists are continually carrying on negotiations for the establishment of a united front to struggle "with the destructive influence of Bolshevism." The capitalists make no secret of the fact that the economic bloc against the U.S.S.R. will inevitably develop into a military and political bloc.

After the break in diplomatic relationships between Britain and the U.S.S.R., the bourgeois politicians began to work with especial energy to forge an economic bloc against the Soviet Union at the first opportunity. On the other hand, the British bankers brought pressure to bear on the Germans, Swedish, French and others, with a view to compelling them to break off the purely commercial operations which the trading organs of the Soviet Union were carrying on abroad. At the same time the German, British and French industrialists carried on discussions in regard to the formation of an alliance in order, as a German industrialist openly said to a representative of a British Conservative paper, the *Morning Post,* to carry on a struggle against the growing menace of Bolshevism.

Other eminent representatives of the British and French bourgeoisie have spoken in still more resolute tones than he. In putting forward the idea of the necessity to create a Franco-German-Polish-British bloc, under the general direction of Britain, the British journalist "Augur" made no attempt to conceal the purpose of the bloc.

"Only the Soviets," Augur wrote, "can have any fear of an economic bloc, since whilst there may be some possibility of their having some chance of success in a struggle on a political basis, a struggle on an economic basis will prove more and more difficult for them, and as a result they will quickly be in no condition to resist the inflexible pressure of reality."

The bourgeoisie's task at the present time amounts to creating such conditions as will put an end to the further economic development of the Soviet Union.

But the bourgeoisie do not confine themselves to blockade alone, but are actively preparing for intervention itself. What form is that preparation taking? In the first place, it consists in the creating of innumerable military and political blocs of the States adjacent with the U.S.S.R. The imperialists are trying to encircle the Soviet Union with barbed wire, and are interlocking the capitalist States adjacent with the U.S.S.R. by war agreements and reciprocal obligations.

A brief survey of the system of military agreements which exists among the capitalist States on the western frontiers of the U.S.S.R. will give a good idea of the frantic energy which those States are developing.

In the preparations for intervention in the U.S.S.R. there is a definite division of labour. On the one hand, there are the Powers which constitute the inspirers and organisers of intervention, Britain and France first and foremost, and on the other there are the immediate executors of the plans worked out in the French general staff and in the British Foreign Office, these executors being Poland, Roumania, and the other western neighbours of the U.S.S.R.

The chief hopes of the world imperialists are pinned upon Poland and Roumania. The French general staff has made no small effort in order to create a close military and political co-operation between these two countries. Neither of them decides a single issue concerning the Soviet Union without mutual agreement. By the military convention concluded between Poland and Roumania in 1926 it is laid down that in the event of an armed conflict

between either of these States and the Soviet Union, the other State shall also join in the war, mobilising all its armed forces. The representatives of the French general staff watch continually over the realisation of this co-operation between Roumania and Poland. At the same time there is a military agreement between Poland and France, according to which if Poland attacks the Soviet Union, France is to supply armaments and all technical requisites to the Polish army. That supply is really already being effected. In Cherbourg there is even a special military base whence all the war production of the French factories assigned to Poland is despatched. Steamers regularly ply between Cherbourg and Danzig which are specially adapted to the transport of military supplies from France to Poland.

France is no less energetically supplying Roumania.

In the preparation for war on the U.S.S.R. a special position is occupied by Czecho-Slovakia, which possesses a large war industry. In the event of war, the Czecho-Slovak war industry is to become the war base for supplies to the armies fighting the U.S.S.R. In this direction the French general staff has recently undertaken very resolute measures with the aid of French war industrial firms, with a view to adapting the Czecho-Slovak war industry to the needs of preparing for war against the U.S.S.R.

The imperialist enemies of the Soviet Union do not leave the other States bordering on the Union out of their account. In Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland one may easily observe the energetic handiwork of the French and British agents.

Such are the activities which the "friends" of the U.S.S.R. are developing on the western front.

These "anxieties" of the imperialist patrons are correspondingly reflected in the preparations for a new war which are being made in the adjacent countries. These States, with Poland and Roumania in the forefront, are preparing most energetically for a new war, and make no attempt to conceal the fact that they are directing their plans eastward—i.e., against the Soviet Union.

Most characteristic of all is the energy with which Poland is preparing for war. From the moment that the Pilsudsky government came to power, the war expenditure of Poland reached approximately two-thirds of all the State expenditures. The Polish diplomats who speak at all the various conferences of the League of Nations assure all and sundry of their peaceable intentions, and weep on the shoulders of the world Powers over the threat of an attack from the Soviet Union. But here are two figures which splendidly characterise the true nature of the Polish-Soviet relationships: whilst the Polish army has increased by approximately 17 per cent. from 1923 to 1929, during the same period the army of the Soviet Union has been reduced by 20 per cent. These figures are the finest proof of the real intentions concealed behind the honeyed accents of the Polish diplomats.

If any preparations for a new war are being made by anybody on the frontiers of the Soviet Union it is by no means the latter who is responsible. The immediate neighbours on the West have now a trained human reserve of approximately five millions at their disposal. By the end of the first month of war the western neighbours of the U.S.S.R. could throw an army of approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ million men into the field.

Together with the "regular armies," an intensified preparation is going on of military forces, such as the fascist unions. In 1923 the numerical strength of the military unions in Finland, Latvia, Esthonia and Poland was approximately four hundred thousand men. In 1929, the figure has reached $1\frac{1}{2}$ million men.

A similar picture is to be observed in regard to the preparation of the technical side of military intervention. In 1923, Poland possessed about 140 aeroplanes, and Roumania 112. In 1928, the figure for Poland had risen to 292, and for Roumania to 178. We have to reckon that at the moment of intervention the aerial fleet of the western neighbours of Soviet Russia will be somewhere in the neighbourhood of one thousand aeroplanes.

The immediate neighbours of the U.S.S.R. formerly possessed a comparatively small war industry. Of recent years the war industry of both Poland and Roumania has grown considerably. A number of new works have been

built, and the number of workers engaged in war industry has risen approximately seven times from 1923 to 1929.

All these figures witness to the enormous exertions being made in the preparation of war on the U.S.S.R. by her immediate neighbours, the direct executors of the plans for war-intervention laid down by the French and British bourgeoisie.

No less energetic is the activity of the imperialists on the eastern frontiers of the Soviet Union. The "Times," the organ of the British bourgeoisie, indicated in one of its articles that the U.S.S.R. has many vulnerable frontiers, but that the most vulnerable points are in the East. The events in Afghanistan, where Amanullah, who was friendly disposed to the U.S.S.R., has been overthrown with the aid of British agents, the consolidation of the British base in the Near East as a point from which the Soviet Trans-Caucasus can be attacked, the energetic activities of the British and Japanese agents on the Far-Eastern frontiers of the U.S.S.R., all witness to the fact that imperialism is hard at work on all frontiers of the Soviet Union.

THE TREACHEROUS ROLE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS

The danger of a new war is quite evident to all, even to the most backward worker. And the especial danger of war on the Soviet Union is also clear enough. The question naturally arises: how do the parties of the 2nd International react to that? What is the role of Social-Democracy, which calls itself the working-class party, in this struggle against new wars?.

It has to be said quite definitely that Social-Democracy is not only not putting up any struggle against the approach of new imperialist wars, but is on the contrary advancing them by all means, being itself one of the organisers of those wars. Whilst during the first imperialist war the role of Social-Democracy consisted in doing its utmost to justify the war to the masses after its outbreak, Social-Democracy is now acting as an active co-partner in the work of preparing for the war.

The general staffs and reconnaissance organs are occupied with the military and political preparation of the war. The bankers and industrialists are forging a chain of blockades, which are for the purpose of weakening the Soviet Union at the moment of actual war activities. But the bourgeoisie has laid a particularly honourable obligation upon the Social-Democrats: they are the Agitation and Propaganda department of the capitalist States. Social-Democracy is engaged in the ideological preparation of the masses for the new war. It is quite obvious that Social-Democracy does not come out openly in favour of the necessity or the inevitability of a new war. On the contrary, it even attempts to argue that there is no danger of war whatever, that all the talk of the approach of a new war is a provocational invention of the Bolsheviks. The Social-Democrats are trying to convince the workers that it is not the imperialists who are preparing for war on the U.S.S.R., but that on the contrary it is the Soviet Government which under the cry of intervention in the U.S.S.R. is hiding its own preparations to attack its neighbours. In this way the Social-Democrats are trying to demobilise the masses, to calm them, to convince them that there is no war danger, so that at the moment of the declaration of war the working masses of the capitalistic countries will be faced with a "fait accompli."

But the Social-Democrats are not confining themselves to this. Whilst on the one hand denying the danger of new wars, they are the same time instilling the idea of the defence of the country into the minds of the masses. The Social-Democrats of all countries are participating actively in the arming of the bourgeois fatherland. In every country the Social-Democrats are agitating for armaments, for the support of the imperialist policy, not infrequently taking the working out of definite plans of armaments upon themselves. Thus in France, for instance, the "Socialist" Paul Boncour is the author of the proposal for the militarisation of the entire population of France. At the last congress of the German Social-Democrats in Magdeburg a war program was adopted which guaranteed German imperialism an increase of armaments. The Social-Democrats are endeavouring to get their shameful, treacherous policy across under the

cloak of affected love of the U.S.S.R. The German Social-Democrats know very well that considerable sections of the German bourgeoisie are more and more inclined towards the idea of participating in an Anti-Soviet bloc. The German Social-Democrats know very well that German armaments are directed first and foremost against the Soviet Union. None the less this knowledge does not prevent their attempting to convince the workers that Germany is arming so as not to be a pawn in the hands of the Entente against the U.S.S.R.

We have recently witnessed the coming of Social-Democracy to power in a number of capitalist countries. In Germany the Social-Democrats have been in the Government for a considerable time. The German Social-Democrats are exploiting their power in order to consolidate the positions of the bourgeoisie, in order to prepare Germany for a new imperialist war. With the aid of German Social-Democracy the imperialists are again arming, building new cruisers, and strengthening their Reichswehr.

The Social-Fascist practice of the German Social-Democrats, which was developed especially clearly during the Mayday events in Berlin, is directed towards the consolidation of the rear in the event of a new war.

The coming of the Labour Party to power in Britain essentially connotes also only a more subtle preparation for new war.

The British Conservative Government of recent years was the ideologist and organiser of an Anti-Soviet front of the capitalist States.

In its election campaign, the Labour Party solemnly promised to restore relationships with the Soviet Union, but at the same time the leaders of the Labour Party, even in their election campaign did not conceal their fidelity to the British Empire.

On April 18th, 1929, the future "Labour" minister Thomas declared in Parliament that although on political questions there was inevitably disagreement between the various parties, none the less, so far as the unity, development and welfare of the Empire were concerned there were no essential differences between the various political parties. If political fortune were within a few weeks to afford the Labour Party the possibility of taking the seals of office into its hands, their desire and intention would be not to dismember but to strengthen and further develop the heritage of which they were proud.

The Labour Party's promises to restore relations with the U.S.S.R. forces British imperialism to mask somewhat its open plans for preparing intervention in the Soviet Union, but without essentially weakening that preparation itself. But at the same time the Labour Government will develop the "heritage" which was left to them by Chamberlain and Joynson Hicks.

The recent leftward trend of the working class, compels the bourgeoisie to change somewhat their methods of administration and means of preparing for the new war. The bourgeoisie now needs the pacifistic cloak, behind which they can quietly but just as energetically prepare for the new wars directed against the Soviet Union first and foremost.

The Labour Government in Britain will undoubtedly throw out suitable pacifistic phrases, and will give the impression that it is reducing armaments, etc. All this will probably spread among the people masses of a number of countries. Those pacifistic illusions may spread among considerable sections of the working masses the impression that the danger of a new war and in particular that of an intervention in the Soviet Union is no longer pressing, or that in any case it is much less urgent. The spreading of these pacifist illusions is highly necessary to the British bourgeoisie in order that it can openly but still more energetically carry on with the preparations for new wars.

But the true role of coalition or labour governments consists in exploiting the methods of deception which the Social-Democrats are so expert at in order to prepare the masses and the country for war. The pacifist phrases of Macdonald and his addresses to Hoover have as end only to delay the moment of collision between Britain and America, for British imperialism needs to "bring order" into the colonies, to lower the standards of its own working class, to trustify its industry, and so on. But the actual preparation for war will be carried out on a scale no smaller than before.

The Muller Coalition Government has the same end in view: to prepare Germany the

better for a new war than could a government of bourgeois parties alone, owing to the fact that millions of workers still follow Social-Democracy. It is the S.D. ministers who are carrying through the assignations for cruisers, are issuing loans which yield enormous tribute to the bourgeoisie, are passing compulsory decisions which reduce the right to strike to an empty formula, are prohibiting the Red Front Fighters, and through their police-presidents are shooting down the revolutionary workers

The British Labour Party is aiding British imperialism to consolidate its positions in the Near East with a view to a military attack on the colonial countries and the U.S.S.R.

The German Social-Democrats are preparing suitable cadres which can be placed at the service of world imperialism in the event of its undertaking a crusade against the U.S.S.R.

In France the Socialists are assisting the bourgeoisie to militarise the whole of the nation.

In every country we have one and the same picture. But the most subtle instrument in the preparations for war is the so-called "left-wing" Social-Democracy. Its task is to wage a verbal criticism of imperialism and the official Social-Democracy, thus holding the masses back from the practical class struggle against capitalism and its social reformism. The left-wing Social-Democrats are objectively a safety valve for the revolutionary energy of the leftward-moving masses in the Social-Democratic parties. The left-wingers willingly utter highly revolutionary phrases, but in reality they do not lift a finger to prevent the bourgeoisie from carrying on its preparations for a new war.

The opportunists of all hues who have split away or been driven out from the Comintern objectively are related to the "left-wing" Social-Democrats, and fulfil the same "benevolent" functions to the latter. Instead of organising the masses in the struggle for the Proletarian Dictatorship, the Brandlerites of all tints return to the old reformist slogan: "Not a farthing, not a soldier."

The right-wing opportunists excluded from the Comintern, enfeeble the struggle of the working class against the preparations for war on the U.S.S.R., by deliberately remaining silent on the fact that the bourgeoisie are preparing for that war as energetically as possible. Objectively the Trotskyists are playing the same role, for instead of mobilising the attention of the masses on the enormous processes which are now developing in the U.S.S.R. they demobilise that attention by talk about the Thermidor in the U.S.S.R., by saying that there is a bourgeois reaction there, and so on. Naturally, a worker who believes the Trotskyists will never become a defender of a Thermidorian U.S.S.R. transformed into a bourgeois republic.

The struggle against Social-Democracy, the disclosure of its real role, as co-participant with the bourgeoisie in the preparation of a new war on the ideological front, and sometimes on the organisational front also, is a chief prerequisite to a real Bolshevik anti-militarist struggle.

THE TASK OF AUGUST 1ST

Everywhere the bourgeoisie is spreading the slanderous rumour that on August 1st the Communists are to declare an armed rising, that the Communists are preparing a bloody slaughter in all European capitals.

All this is the usual provocation of the bourgeoisie and its orchestral accompaniment from the Social-Democrats, and has as its object to frighten the citizen, to justify in advance the repressive measures, the police shots on unarmed demonstrators, as happened on Mayday in Berlin, when the police headed by a Social-Democrat were raging and furious in their attacks upon unarmed groups of workers.

The bourgeoisie are trying by all kinds of inventions and repressions to restrain the workers from participation in the August 1st demonstrations. They are trying to turn the workers away from a genuinely revolutionary, anti-militarist activity. To the same end the Social-Democrats have arranged for their own ostensibly anti-militarist day on August 4th, in opposition to August 1st. The 4th of August, which commemorates the historical date of the treachery of the 2nd International, and the beginning of the last war, is in our own day merely a day for the review of the forces of Social-Fascism with a view to the organisation of an imperialist war against the

colonial peoples, against the Proletariat, and against the Soviet Union.

Already, in their preparations for their August 4th, the Social-Democrats are exerting all their efforts in order to disintegrate the Proletariat's demonstration of August 1st, to break the united front of all the toiling and oppressed against war. But all the skill of Social-Fascism and the bourgeoisie will avail them nothing. A united front in the struggle against the war danger is being created over the heads of the reformist bureaucracy, and in conflict with Social-Fascism. At the works, the factories, the mines, the shipyards, in the railway workshops and on the steamships committees for the preparation and carrying through of August 1st are now being set up. Those committees, elected by the Proletarian masses as a whole, are mobilising the working class in the struggle against the war danger.

On August 1st the toilers of the whole world will pour on to the streets under the slogans of defence of the first Proletarian State,) of struggle against the danger of imperialist wars, and against imperialist intervention in colonial countries.

These tasks cannot be accomplished if simultaneously there is not a struggle against Fascism, against the offensive of capital, and a most resolute struggle for the political rights which the Proletariat have won over many years of struggle.

The most serious obstacle on the road of the Proletarian struggle against war is Fascist Social-Democracy. It was the most faithful auxiliary to the bourgeoisie during the war of 1914—1918, and it is now the most energetic assistant to imperialism in its task of preparing for new wars.

The struggle with the coming war must be waged under the slogan of the Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as the only method of struggle against imperialism and the wars inevitable to imperialism.

Augustist is the day of a militant review of the forces of the International Proletariat in the struggle against imperialism, in the struggle with the war danger. The mass strikes, the mass demonstrations on that day will be the finest proof of the inflexible will of the Proletariat to struggle against capitalism, they will be the finest proof of the profound sympathy felt by the toilers of the capitalist countries for the Soviet Union, they will be the symptom of their resolution in the struggle for the World Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

August 1st must become a demonstration of the united front not only of all the workers, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, not only the establishment of a fraternal alliance between the Proletariat and all the other sections of the toilers. In the struggle against the war danger, the working class must head the anti-war movement of the masses of agricultural Proletariat and the toiling peasantry. The preparation for the Red Day must go on not only in the factories and works, but also in the villages, and in the barracks. This day must be exploited in order to explain to the toilers in the bourgeois armies what are the counter-revolutionary aims and tasks of those armies, and in order to reveal the real meaning of those armies.

The youth must play an especially active part in the preparation and carrying out of the plans for August 1st. The worker youth and the Young Communists especially must carry on a continual anti-militarist work.

August 1st must become the signal for the mobilisation of the youth in a real revolutionary struggle against war.

It is not by accident that the revolutionary Proletariat of the World are organising an August 1st demonstration against war this year. The whole present situation of intensified class struggle, the Fascisation of the Social-Democracy, the unprecedentedly intense preparation for new wars demand a demonstration of the international working class against war, and in defence of the U.S.S.R.

In present-day conditions August 1st is a day of struggle and a review of the forces of the Proletariat. The new war is not a dream of the future. Only a class-consolidated united front of all the forces of the Proletariat can postpone the moment of its arrival. And so August 1st is no ordinary demonstration, but a day of the review of the forces of the International Proletariat with a view to a ruthless struggle with the coming wars of imperialism.

August 1st has to be a day of the consolidation of the whole working class, and all the toilers in the struggle against imperialism.

Line Up the Toiling Women Under the Banner of the "Red Day"

"But what can the proletarian women do against war? Will they curse all war and everything military and demand disarmament? The women of an oppressed class, genuine revolutionaries, will never be satisfied with such a contemptible role."
—Lenin.

ARE the leading working women of the capitalist countries genuine revolutionaries at the present period? Working women are still stigmatised as "backward," "ignorant," "humble" and so on; these descriptions are not so much a picture of the typisal woman worker as they are a picture of the inability of the Communist Parties to organise systematic work among women workers. This attitude to work among women, alien to a genuinely Bolshevik party, breaks out not because of the activity within the Party on this question, but in face of the active revolutionary pressure of the working women themselves.

It was the revolutionary women who drove the reformists out of their meetings at Lodz, and without fear faced the court of the executioners. They were genuine revolutionaries, who got frostbite in hands and feet while picketing their factories against strike-breakers during the textile workers' strike in Czecho-Slovakia. They too were genuine revolutionaries who urged their husbands to carry on the strike in the Ruhr. They also were revolutionary women who threw off the yoke of the American Federation of Labour and elected their own leaders during a strike and then organised their own trade union of tailoresses. And have not the German, French and Bombay textile workers provided fine examples of ruthless fighters for the cause of the working class? The leftward movement of the workers also finds expression in the revolutionary movements developing amongst the women workers, movements which continue to be ignored even by our Communist Parties. Are these movements among the masses of women toilers, shown even in the social-democratic women's movement and the pacifist women's movement, reflected in the work being carried on among women by our Communist Parties? They are not. The widespread agitation of the women's proletariat has not to any adequate extent found its leader in the Communist Party. Meantime, events are unfolding at a terrific speed, and our opponents are neither slumbering nor sleeping in the endeavours to capture these ranks of the proletariat. The last few months have given us examples of the methods being applied by the triple alliance of capitalists, reformist unions and social-democrats for the purpose of capturing these masses. Before the C.P.'s attempted to develop work among women in the factories the opposing parties had sent their organisers into the factories to spread their illusions among the women workers concerning war, industrial peace, etc.. The British pacifist women, inspired by Baldwin himself, exploited our methods of the united front from below, and carried on an energetic campaign "for that party which gave votes to women," i.e., for the Conservatives. These measures evoked a considerable amount of panic among British women Communists, for the party's attention to work among women had declined, and the working women were in a difficult situation, and it was difficult for them to get a clear and definite conception of all the danger of the illusions spread by the campaign and to put up the necessary resistance to them.

If the preparation for the Red Day is seriously carried out it will involve a thoughtful and systematic activity by the C.P.'s for the attention of the working women. If these measures are not separated from the measures of the Party as a whole, if they do not form the task merely of the women's department with its restricted forces, if the party will continually keep this section of the work in view, they will undoubtedly yield positive results.

The campaign of the 8th March showed that in a number of countries the women are responding willingly and in a genuinely revolutionary spirit to the calls of the party. The 8th March resulted in demonstrations and even strikes. But did the parties put forth any very great exertions in order to carry through this campaign?

The First of May was also distinguished both in Poland and in Germany by highly revolutionary acts on the part of the proletarian women, who sought by strikes to answer the shots of social-democracy. The incidents in Paris on May 26th also underlined the activity of the working women. Consequently, if the toiling women do not respond to the call of the Red Day the entire responsibility will rest upon the organisers of that Day.

Is it necessary to speak on the importance of the women at the moment of declaration of war or during the progress of war? There has been so much written on this subject that even the least political of men has long since assimilated the fact that the rear depends predominantly on the women, who during wartime are drawn on an enormous scale into all the spheres of industry, economy, trade, transport and so on. Nor is the enormous work carried on by the bourgeois and fascist organisations for the direct preparation of women for war altogether unknown. Their organisations number tens of thousands, chiefly young girls who march, learn to shoot, to maintain communications, to become field telephonists, telegraphists, to carry on supply services, etc. The bourgeoisie are intelligently and in a detailed way preparing to defend their interests from this aspect also. They strengthen all their measures by corresponding legislation, which in the event of war places the working women in a state of conscription, and at the same time they hypocritically spread pacifist illusions among those sections of the toiling women whom they cannot catch directly in the fascist snare.

But in a number of countries proletarian anti-war women's organisations also exist, containing thousands of women. In comparing these organisations with the bourgeois organisations one is struck by the absence of a competent literature, information, and other measures for the winning of the masses; but the determination and revolutionary quality of these organisations have already been tested in past battles. These, our first endeavours, are very important, and the party should give all the more attention to their revolutionary education and militant development. These organisations must become bases for spreading the influence of the party among the broad circles of toiling women. All their current activity should be adapted to preparation for the Red Day, the finest forces of the Communist Parties should be flung into these organisations, and the latter should enrol the women into their ranks to an unprecedented extent, at the same time clearly distinguishing themselves from the pacifist organisations and revealing their own revolutionary features.

To capture the toiling women the Red Day campaign must first and foremost base itself on the working women of the factories. Bearing in mind that in the potential war spheres of industry the chemical, artificial silk, metallurgical works, etc., the women proletariat are exposed to an enormous extent by the propagandist and organisational activities in these enterprises. The parties are bound to strive by all means towards drawing into the Red Day campaign all the working women in production. When electing committees for carrying out the plans for the campaign, the parties must bring militant proletarian women into them. In their turn the workers among women must inspire a comradely atmosphere of support in the enterprises around these women members of the committees, concentrating around them an active group of women who will hourly propagate the slogans of the parties in their works, etc. By our practical measures we shall ensure a response when we call upon them to demonstrate on Red Day under the banner of the C.P. The organisation of a proletarian fund for the struggle against war should find the women workers most responsive collecting and contributing to these funds.

The working women cannot but demonstrate with all their native ardour and self-devotion against imperialist war, against the social-democratic traitors to the working class.

Only where the Communist Parties fail in their duty will the pacifists conduct successful propaganda amongst the working women. Their experience of the treachery of the social-democrats is so wide and so profusely demonstrated by facts that the C.P.'s can confidently call on the women of all countries for the most ruthless struggle against the renegades. And if the parties are dubious in this regard it means that in that party the right wing opportunists tendencies are not yet overcome; it means that those parties themselves

do not estimate aright the role of the women on the imminent revolutionary battles, and do not realise all the importance of the struggle for the vitally necessary demands of the working women.

We must at once survey all the possibilities which the parties have at their disposal for the capture of the toiling women masses, the organisation, the quality of the women workers, their quality, the possibility of at least a temporary extension in the number of organisers in the enterprises, and their preparedness for carrying out the campaign.

The task of the moment is to shake up the apparatus, to put it into active operation, to force it to move step by step together with the entire party, to support and to strengthen it.

All measures must be taken to ensure that all the special publications and women's journals at our disposal should appear in good time, with special numbers devoted to the questions of the Red Day. These publications must mainly be composed of letters and notes of women workers themselves, the wives of mobilised workers, war widows, exploited and oppressed proletarian women who have been betrayed by the reformist unions, and who will be mobilised in the event of war under laws drawn up by "socialists," etc. Those parties which do not have women's journals must revive or start new issues of these journals, so that the women workers should be acquainted with the main ideas and summonses of the parties not merely on the day of the campaign itself but beforehand. Mass leaflets must be issued, directed separately to all the categories of working women—one for the textile workers, one for the workers in war industry, one for the wives of workers, one for the working women in the postal, telegraph, banking and similar services.

In certain countries national congresses of toiling women and anti-war women's organisations have been fixed for this year. It is quite obvious that if these congresses are to be held in the immediate future they must be exploited by the parties as part of the general plan for preparations for the Red Day, they must herald that day, and so mobilise the representatives of the toiling women under the slogans of the party.

Despite the fact that many Communist Parties have parliamentary representatives, not once has any Communist Party addressed itself to the toiling women of its country from the parliamentary tribune, using it to demonstrate all the harshness of the capitalist system in regard to women workers. The national congresses of working women can put a number of demands to their governments, demands conected with the Red Day campaign, and it is the duty of the Communist members of parliament to raise these demands to their full height and demonstrate to the whole country what is the attitude of the bourgeois organs of authority to the demands and needs of the proletarian women.

In a short article it is difficult to specify all the possibilities in the mobilisation of the working women under the banner of the Red Day. But if the parties will approach this question with the utmost attention, and develop the party machinery which has to capture the working women and wives of the workers, then one can say with confidence that the party's work in drawing the proletarian women into the campaign will be successful.

Nor is it a hopeless task to draw the peasant women also into this campaign. The past war left too deep traces in all peasant families. The peasant women of the Balkans and the Baltic countries were forced to carry a triple burden, being left without husband, and exploited by the landowners through the application of "war" laws. Of recent years all the peasant disturbances indicate the activity of the peasant women, who have entered on a desperate struggle with the military divisions. The prisons have grown accustomed to peasant women, the courts are merciless to the mothers and children.

If the party in its general campaign will also take the necessary steps to draw the peasant women into our campaign this will be sufficient to ensure large-scale demonstrations of the women workers on the land and in the forests.

One thing must not be forgotten: not one sphere of party work, including that among the women, can reckon on success if it is not a part of the permanent work of the party. In the same way success in drawing the toiling women into the Red Day campaign entirely depends on the extent to which this constitutes an organic work of the party as a whole.

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